

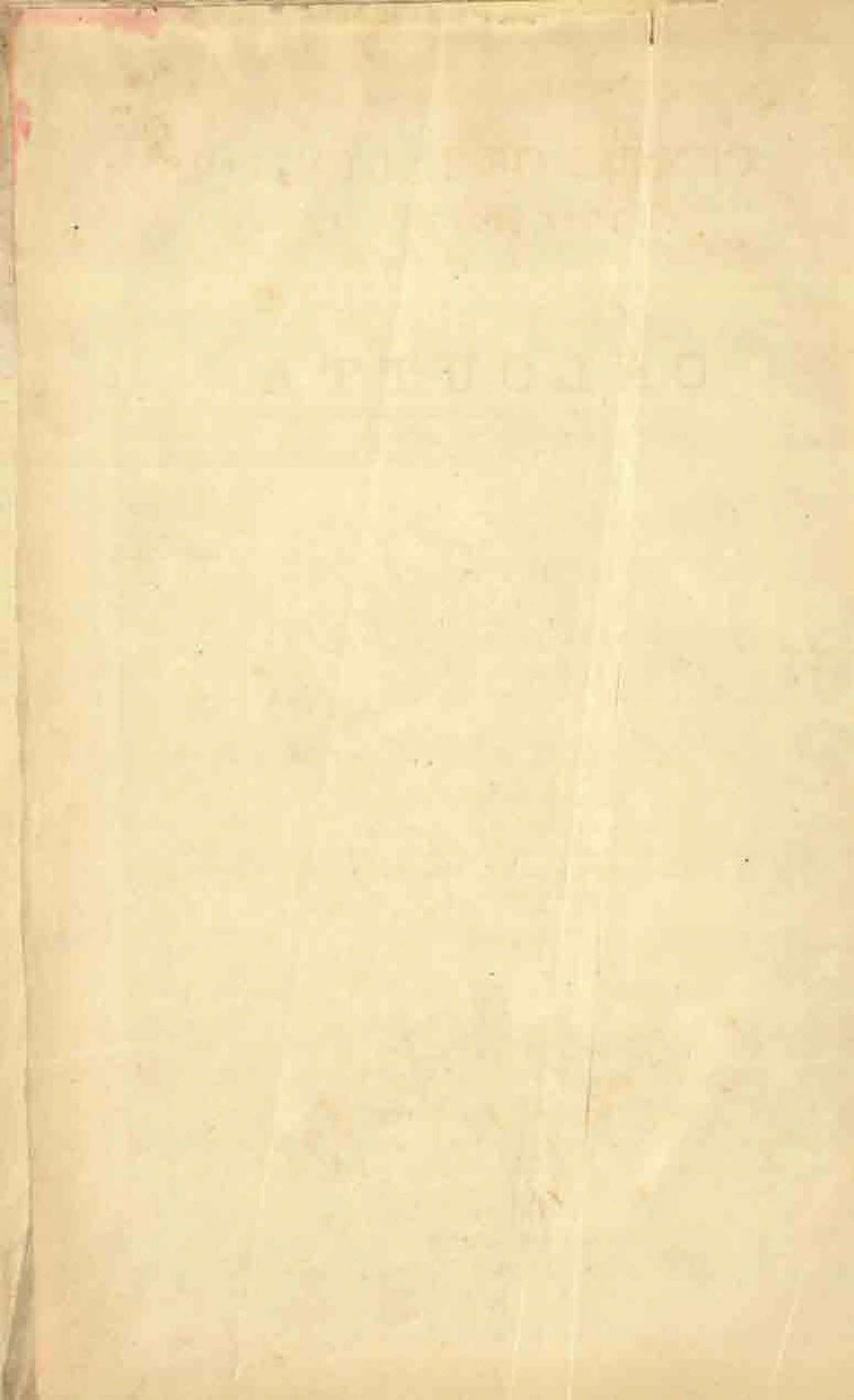
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CALCUTTA,

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PART I.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF CALCUTTA.

BY

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PREFACE.

THE first connected history of the rise and growth of Calcutta was written by Mr. H. Beverley, c.s., as a part of his Census Report for 1876. In paragraph 109, page 36, of that report, he recommended the future historian of the town to draw for his materials upon the domestic archives of the leading Native families in the town, besides official records and the notices of Eastern travellers. When, therefore, at the instance of the Census Commissioner of India, I was asked last November, by the Deputy Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation, to undertake the task of writing a short history of Calcutta, in connection with the Census Report for 1901, I applied to a great many Native Indian families for assistance, besides soliciting the help of Government for the loan of old books, papers and periodicals dealing with ancient Calcutta. While the officers of the Bengal and Imperial Libraries, and other Government officials promptly placed at my disposal all the available books and papers of reference that were requisitioned by me, very few, indeed, of the Indian gentlemen, except my own personal friends or relations, responded, and some even of those that promised help by allowing an inspection of the records in their family libraries, failed to carry out their promise. Consequently, a very small part of the materials upon which the history has been written, happens to be original, the bulk of it being, as the foot-notes will show, grounded upon matter already in print. The works of Beverley, Seton-Kerr, Sandeman, Hyde, Long, Talboys Wheeler, Holwell, Hunter, Millet and several others, including the Bengali writers Sāstri, Basu and Vidyānidhi, have been largely drawn upon. But the greatest help and the largest amount of matter have been obtained from Professor C. R. Wilson and his works. To him my cordial thanks are due for placing at my disposal much of the original materials upon which Chapter VI is based, particularly for the copy of the translation of the *Bainama* or deed of sale, by which the English purchased villages Sutanuti, Govindapur and Calcutta, and for the list of rent payments made since the purchase, both of which have thrown a good deal of light on the dim traditions of the Savarna family of Bengal. My acknowledgments are also due to the following members of that family—the Venerable Babu Harish Chandra Ráy Chowdry of Barisa; Babu Bijay Krishna Ráy Chowdry, B.L., Vakil, Hooghly; Babu Kshirode Chandra Ráy Chowdhry, M.A., Head Master, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack; Babus Radha Nath Ráy Chowdry, and Binay Krishna Ráy Chowdry of Halishar, and Siva Chandra Ráy Chowdry of Panihati and others, for kindly placing at my disposal a great many old records and papers and genealogies of the family. I am also grateful to Mr. Norendra Nath Sen, the Editor of the *Indian Mirror*

ERRATA.

Page 6, सदयेन : *should be* सुदयेन :

- " 10, paragraph 2, line 6, "Jahingir" *should be* "Jahangir".
- " 10, footnote (c), line 11, "debbottar" *should be* "debottar".
- " 12, paragraph 5, line 16, "Satgoan" *should be* "Satgaon".
- " 17, line 3, last word, "the" *should be* "their".
- " 17, paragraph 3, line 5, and elsewhere "fouzders" *should be* "faujdars".
- " 18, " 4, " 7, "years" *should be* "years".
- " 20, " 1, " 4, and elsewhere "Nabob's" *should be* "Nawab's".
- " 26, footnote (b), "Kamarpara" *should be* outside the ditch.
- " 26, last paragraph, line 12, "They" *should be* "Thenceforward they".
- " 37, Appendix III, "Raghava" (the second son of Vidyadhar) *has been omitted*. "Kali Charan" was the son (not, as shown, of Ramchand, but) of "Raghava".
- " 46, 2nd list, 3rd line, after "Canuat Nurry" *enter* "(Kanai Lahiri ?)".
- " 53, line 27, after "Serampore" *add* "and parts of Kamarpara and Simla".
- " 65, footnote, "Report" *should be* "Reports".
- " 75, line 2, *add* "occurred" after "fire".
- " 75, " 3, *omit* "when".
- " 76, paragraph 3, line 16, "authorise" *should be* "authorised".
- " 88, " 3, " 9, "Tala-shade" *should be* "Tala=shade".
- " 88, in footnote (d), after "Chapter VI" *add* "page 38".
- " 89, " (b) *omitted* in the 2nd footnote.
- " 90, paragraph 2, line 7, "para-quarter" *should be* "para=quarter".
- " 90, in footnote, "Ban" *should be* "Bau".
- " 91, last paragraph, line 14, comma after "betel-grove".
- " 91, " " 18, full stop after "origin".
- " 94, "(a)" *omitted* from the first footnote.
- " 95, last paragraph, line 10, "1698" *should be* "1690".
- " 108, paragraph 2, last line, "developement" *should be* "development".
- " 112, " 2, line 10, "Triangalor" *should be* "Triangular".
- " 120, " 3, line 6, "Imports" *should be* "imposts".
- " 121, footnote (a), "Millette's" *should be* "Millet's".
- " 122, paragraph 2, line 5, bracket ends after "Vice-Chairman" (not after "Chairman").
- " 122, " 2, line 13, bracket begins before "including".
- " 122, line 16, "The Commissioners" *should be* "They".
- " 122, line 17, comma after "Port" and also after "advance".
- " 123, paragraph 2, line 2, comma after "Port Commissioners".
- " 123, " 2, line 3, put—before "four".
- " 127, " 6, line 3, "some few years" *should be* "a few years ago".
- " 127, " 6, line 4, comma after "run up".
- " 127, " 6, lines 5 and 6, *omit* "and upon".
- " 130, last paragraph, line 4, comma after "years".
- " 130, line 5, *omit* "and" and insert a comma after "beneficent".
- " 130, line 6, "union jack" *should be* "Union Jack".
- " 130, line 6, *insert* "the" before "censless".
- " 9, footnote (c), comma after "white".
- " 11, " (c), "Soota-cotton" *should be* "Soota=cotton".
- " 11, " "Looty-skein" *should be* "Looty=skein".
- " 11, line 5, comma after "names", "and" for "And", and comma after "further".
- " 11, " 10, "entire" *should be* "Sacred".
- " 11, paragraph 3, line 12, "Satgoan" *should be* "Satgaon".
- " 37, Appendix III, bracket 1718 and 1730 below "Mahadeva Roy".
- " 39, V, paragraph 2, line 5, "Bangala" *should be* "Bengala".
- " 60, line 1, "Woodmand" *should be* "Woodmant".
- " 62, paragraph 5, line 4, "Ward" *should be* "Wards".
- " 62, " 5, line 8, "Simms" *should be* "Simms".
- " 65, " 2, line, "Bimapooka" *should be* "Baniapuker".
- " 67, " 1, line 21, "years" *should be* "year".
- " 71, " 1, line 7, "upsa" *should be* "Upas".
- " 79, " 3, line 13, "Fulta" *should be* "Pulta". "Chandpur" *should be* "Chandpal".
- " 79, " 4, line 14, "March 1899" *should be* "March 1859".
- " 110, " 7, line 1, "Aksur" *should be* "Akrur".
- " 112, " 2, line 4, "being" *should be* "having been".

Map of 1798 by Upjohn. In footnote, "Ranamooddy" *should be* "Ranamadda".

A SHORT HISTORY OF CALCUTTA.

CHAPTER I.

BENEATH THE SURFACE.

CALCUTTA is situated on the east bank of the river Hooghly in latitude $22^{\circ}33'47''$ N. and longitude $88^{\circ}23'34''$ E. Like all riparian towns in the Lower Gangetic delta, it stands upon a rich silt, which, however, has a history of its own.

In the month of April, 1815, a curious discovery was made in re-excavating the Esplanade tank on the north of Chowringhee. At a depth of four feet below the level of its dry bed, trunks of the *sundri* tree (*Heritiera littoralis*) standing upright, were found imbedded at short intervals. This 'interesting phenomenon' was deemed at the time an 'extraordinary occurrence,' in explanation of which various plausible theories were, we are told, offered by naturalists whose 'ingenuity came to be fully exerted' for the purpose. No one of these, however, commended itself to the local press,^(a) which preferred to believe with many native geologists that the land which originally bore the trees on its surface had been covered over by subsequent fluvial deposits.

The 'many native geologists' thus relied on, were, we suspect, local luminaries of the time, who explained the occurrence by stories of Hindu legend and tradition. For we can discover no 'native geologist' that wrote on Calcutta. Barahamihira, the Hindu astronomer, has, no doubt, indicated the geological aspect of Lower Bengal in the seventh century by calling it Samatata, a term which, literally means 'level of the sea,' and is applied to a tidal swamp on its foreshore. It is, however, not geology but tradition that tells us that the 'Samatata' had been raised by alluvium high enough to form a small kingdom, when Houen Tsang came to India and found Bengal divided into five kingdoms—Pundra on the north, Kamarupa on the north-east, Samatata on the east, Tamralipti on the south-west, and Karna-Subarna on the west. These divisions left an uninhabited area on the south between Tamralipti (Misnapur) and Samatata, which latter was "south of Kamarupa, six hundred miles in circuit." East Bengal, then, had just become populated, though still not much above the level of the sea, while Southern Bengal was still an uninhabitable tidal swamp.

The Hindu legend regarding the formation of land and water in the neighbourhood of Calcutta as traditionally known to the people of the locality, is thus described in the 16th century by Kavirama, author of the *Digbijaya-prakasa* :—

"During the churning of the ocean, *Kurma* (the tortoise), too heavily pressed by the *Mandara* Mountain on his back and by *Ananta* (the infinite), gasped out a deep breath in order to stupefy the *Daityas*; and the country of "Kilkila"^(b) was formed, and it extended over the whole tract that was covered by his breath."

This legend is probably descriptive of a shifting of the centre of gravity of the earth and a re-adjustment of land and water as the result of an earthquake, during which a hill subsided, gaseous matter escaped from the bowels of the earth, and the sea was violently agitated. The reference to the

(a) *Calcutta Gazette* of May 2, 1815.

(b) The Province of Kilkila is described as being 21 *yojanas* (= 160 square miles) in extent with the Saraswati on the west and the Jomuna on the east and containing the towns and villages of Hooghly, Banabaria, Bhatpara, Khardaha, Sielaha, Govindapur, etc.

Daityas (Non-Aryans) and their stupefaction has apparent application to the period of Aryan colonisation of the area after the earthquake.

Legend and tradition, it will be observed, did not go far towards affording a true explanation of the phenomenon which had drawn attention to the under-soil. They merely suggested that there had been an upheaval of the lower part of the Gangetic delta, and a raising of it still further by friendly gifts of fluvial deposit. The spectacle of the upright *sundri* trees, on the other hand, betokened a subsequent subsidence. It therefore came about that "the ingenuity of the naturalists," whose "plausible explanations" were not previously accepted, was brought into further requisition with more practical results. From December 1835 down to April 1840, a series of "bore-operations" was conducted under the superintendence of a Committee of naturalists. Of these operations the sinking of the Calcutta bore-hole in Fort William to a depth of four hundred and sixty feet below the mean sea-level was the most important.

The most interesting facts discovered by this great experiment were—

- (1) The complete absence of marine deposits throughout the depth of the bore-hole.
- (2) The existence of a peat-bed at 30 to 35 feet, and again at 382 to 395 feet, below the surface.
- (3) The existence, in considerable quantities, of fine sand and pebbles like those of the sea-shore at 170 to 180 feet and at 320 to 325 feet, and again at 400 to 480 feet, below the surface. The greater part of these pebbles was derived from gneissic rocks.

The most important conclusions suggested by these discoveries are thus stated by Blanford:—

"There appears every reason for believing that the beds traversed, from top to bottom of the bore-hole, had been deposited either by fresh water or in the neighbourhood of an estuary. At a depth of thirty feet below the surface, or about ten feet below mean tide-level, and again at three hundred and eighty-two feet, beds of peat with wood were found, and in both cases there can be but little doubt that the deposits proved the existence of ancient land surfaces.

"A peaty layer has been noticed at Canning Town on the Mutlah, thirty-five miles to the south-east, and at Khulna, in Jessore, eighty miles east by north, always at such a depth below the present surface as to be some feet beneath the present mean tide-level. In many of the cases noticed, roots of the *sundri* were found in the peaty stratum. This tree grows a little above ordinary high-water mark in ground liable to flooding; so that in every instance of the roots occurring below the mean tide-level, there is conclusive evidence of depression. This evidence is confirmed by the occurrence of pebbles; for it is extremely improbable that coarse gravel should have been deposited in water eighty fathoms deep, and large fragments could not have been brought to their present position unless the streams, which now traverse the country, had a greater fall formerly, or unless, which is perhaps more probable, *rocky hills existed*, which have now been partly removed by denudation and covered up by alluvial deposits. The coarse gravel and sand, which form so considerable a proportion of the beds traversed, can scarcely be deltaic accumulations, and it is therefore probable that when they were formed, the present site of Calcutta was near the margin of the alluvial plain."^(*)

The bore-hole experiment carries us, therefore, behind legend and tradition to a time when the country was not the monotonous level from horizon to horizon which it has been from the dawn of history. We must picture a range of gneissic hills standing ruggedly out into the sea, and must imagine the subsequent depression of these, which extended the empire of the tides far inland. This depressed territory becomes in time filled over with loose sediment which sinks by the weight of its superincumbent layers until finally they are covered with the existing alluvial strata, which are indisputably of very recent geological origin, being all Pleistocene (Post-tertiary). The historical age of their formation is, however, matter of controversy, particularly in view of Hindu legend and of the evidence of subsidence. But if legend and science can be connected with tradition and history, the controversy will be in a

(*) See Blanford and Medlicott's *Manual of the Geology of India*, Part I, pages 397—400.

In his *Revenue Survey Report*, Colonel Gaillard quotes interesting evidence on the subject of the depression and subsidence of the Sunderbans from time to time, and incidentally mentions the Calcutta borings. *Hunter's Statistical Account*, Vol. I, pages 379—399.

fair way of approaching settlement. Fergusson's arguments regarding the age of the Lower Gangetic plain attempt this connection.¹⁰⁰

In his opinion, hardly more than 4,000 years have elapsed since the tide was near Rajmahal. He believes there always existed—in historical times at least—a bar or barrier where the tides turned somewhere very near where the Sundarbans now are, and that between this and the apex of the delta there was a tidal swamp. When this was the case the upper valley of the Ganges was, he thinks, in the semi-habitable state in which Assam now is. He attempts also to trace historically the settlements that were made one after another on the Gangetic delta as it extended eastwards:—

"Three thousand years before the Christian era, the only practically habitable part of the alluvial plains was the portion between the Sutledge and the Jumna. Even one thousand years later it was only here and there, on the banks of some minor streams, that the country was in a state to support a large population and to possess considerable cities. Nearly up to the Christian era it was only on the southern hills, or at the foot of the Himalayas (what is now the Terai), that cities could be placed, because the central parts of the plain eastwards of the Gogra were still unfit for human habitation. It was not till one thousand years afterwards that the plain of the Ganges was sufficiently desiccated to admit of such a city as Gour rising to importance, so far from the hills. It was not till the Mahometan conquest in the fourteenth century that the delta, properly so called, became fit for extensive occupation.

"With the first dawn of history or tradition, about three thousand years (a.c.), we find the immigrating Aryan Hindus traversing the Panjaub and settling, so far as India is concerned, exclusively in the tract of country between the Sutledge and the Jumna.

This tract, though not quite a desert now, is nearly so. Its rivers are insignificant streams and lose themselves in the desert; and Thanesswara and Samana, the old classical cities of Aryavarta, are now nearly deserted.

"The next capitals of this race were Delhi, on the extreme northern spur of a range of hills on the right bank of the Jumna, and Mettra, about eighty miles farther down, but still on the elevated right bank. The first cities really in the plain were Hastinapura, on the Ganges, about fifty miles from the hills, and Ayodya, on the Gogra, about sixty miles from the Himalayas. The latter seems to have been one of India's most important cities between two thousand and one thousand years (a.c.). About the last-named date it appears to have been superseded by Camouge, on the Ganges—this time a hundred and twenty miles from the hills, being the farthest advance into the plains before the Christian era. Allahabad and Benares next rose into importance.

"In the fifth or sixth century before Christ, when we become tolerably familiar with the geography of India from the events of Buddha's life, we find in the south Rajagriha on the hills and Oya close by, the most important cities of the central portion of the Gangetic plain. These were superseded about three centuries later, or in Alexander's time by Pali-bothra, or Patna, which was the most important city of India at the time of Alexander's conquests. On the north of the valley we first find Janakpore, in the Terai, between the Bhognatty and the Coosy, figuring as the capital of Bengal at the time when Ayodya was practically the capital of India; then Sravasti, Kapilavasti, and Kusinagara, all nestling under the hills close to the Terai, and the remains of ruined cities of this epoch within its now pestiferous limits, showing that from the greater steepness of the slope, or some such local cause, this was then the most habitable part of the valley of the Lower Ganges.

"It is not till six or ten centuries after our era that we find any more important cities eastward of Patna; but about the last-named period, Gour, opposite Rajmahal, became the capital of Bengal, to be superseded by Dacca, founded in 1604, and Moorshedabad, which only rose into importance in 1704.

"For a century after 1684, when our ships were permitted to enter the Ganges, Satgong or Hooghly was the port of Bengal, and continued to be so till superseded by Calcutta."

In discussing this gradual extension and upheaval of the Gangetic delta, Fergusson notes the fact that in 1757 Admiral Watson took up to Chander-nagore what were then called line-of-battle ships—vessels of 60 and 64 guns, which, whatever their tonnage may have been, would with difficulty reach Calcutta now without the assistance of tugs.

Leaving the region of history and passing to the domain of tradition, Fergusson mentions several traditionary beliefs to illustrate his conclusions. One of these concerning Jessore has it that when the town was built on the Bhairab, some four hundred years ago, it was situated on the seashore; this at least indicates the existence of a tidal swamp to the southward of that town. The others, he mentions, have reference to the changes in the courses of the Kusi at Parnea, the Damuda at Tribeni, near Satgaon, and of some other rivers, accounts of which have been handed down by tradition from

¹⁰⁰ Journal of the Geological Society of London, Vol. XIX, 1863.

generation to generation. And he infers, from the present position and level of these rivers and the height of their banks, that when these changes took place, within the comparatively recent period of Hindu traditions, the dominion of the tides could not have been far off.

Fergusson also infers recent elevation from local names. He speaks of Nadia as "the Navadvipa"—a new island (*dvipa*) in the olden times when the neighbourhood was a sea or at least a tidal swamp. Similar examples are furnished by a great many of the modern villages and towns on the banks of the Hooghly. There is, first, Agradvipa a little in front of the "Navadvipa." Further down is "Sookagar," indicating the site of a "dried-up sea." This is where Crofts and Hastings had their beautiful bungalows on the river-side in the eighteenth century; it is now a deserted place far from the river, where a stagnant, horse-shoe-shaped lagoon, with its few European aquatic plants, faintly reminds us of its famous feasts of plenty. Lower down is Chakdaha (Chakradwipa, the circular island), Dumurdaha (Dumurdwipa, the island of the fig trees), Khardaha (Khargadwipa, the spear-shaped island), Ariyadaha (Aryadvipa, the island of the Aryans). Further examples are Halisahar (new town), Baranagar (Barahanagar, place of wild boars), Sialdaha (Srigaldwipa, as described in Sanskrit works, the island noted for jackals). These 'dwipas' or islands were merely elevated spots in the tidal swamp that first attracted a population.

It will thus appear that the description of Lower Bengal (including Calcutta and its neighbourhood) in Barahamihira's *Brihatnimita* as "Samatata" or tidal swamp, and the inference that it was gradually raised by alluvial deposits into a habitable kingdom about the seventh century after Christ, are in perfect accord with the trend of modern physical researches, while there is nothing in the social history of Bengal⁽¹⁾ which commences with King Adisur between the seventh and the ninth century after Christ that appears to militate against the inference.

There are therefore good reasons to think:—

- (1) That in remote antiquity, gneissic hills stood out from the sea where Calcutta now is.
- (2) That at a later date—probably during the tertiary period—these hills were depressed and a tidal swamp extended up to the foot of the Rajmahal hills.
- (3) That the Lower Gangetic plains below the Rajmahal hills began to be elevated by fluvial deposits about four or five thousand years ago.
- (4) That the extension of the delta was from north and west to south and east.
- (5) That near Calcutta, an elevation of the area has alternately been followed by a subsidence.
- (6) That in historical times the extreme south-eastern portion, including the districts of Khulna, Jessore, the Sundarbans, and Calcutta, was not fully formed in the seventh century of the Christian era, when East Bengal was sufficiently inhabited to form the nucleus of a kingdom.

(1) See the *Sambodhanirupama*, by Pandit Lal Mohan Bidyanidhi.

CHAPTER II.

IN LEGEND AND POETRY.

“ महादेवः सती देहं कान्धे निधाय नृत्यति ।

तदेवं विष्णुना चेतुं मृचोत्तौसदयनः ॥”

THIS Sanskrit couplet depicts Mahadeva, the God of Destruction, in an attitude of wild dance, with the dead body of Sati, his spouse, on his shoulder.

This, indeed, is the chief act in the great Pauranic tragedy of “Dakshayajna.” Daksha is the father of Sati. He omits to invite Mahadeva to a great sacrificial gathering at his house. All the gods, except Siva (Mahadeva), are invited. Sati seeks an explanation for this indignity. Her father cruelly adds insult to injury by calling Siva names. Unable to bear this humiliation, Sati causes her soul to leave her body. Furious at the news, Mahadeva sweeps down upon the scene, picks up the dead body of his spouse from the ground, and dances madly about with it, threatening destruction to the whole world. The gods seek through Brahma, the Creator, the presence and protection of Vishnu, the Preserver, and succeed in inducing him to save creation from the wrath of the terrible Destroyer, who is mad with grief and “drunk with loss.” Vishnu flings his discus—the *sudarsana chakra*—at the body of Sati, and breaks it into fifty-one pieces which fall in a scattered shower to earth. Every spot of the earth where a fragment of this shattered body falls becomes from that moment a holy spot, full of the divine spirit of Sati.⁽¹⁾ The names of these fifty-one sacred places are described in a Sanskrit poem called “Pithamala” (Garland of Sanctuaries). Calcutta is one of them; for the little toe of the right foot of Sati is said to have fallen upon its site. Its original name is said to have been not Calcutta or Kalikata (spelt formerly as “Collekotta,” “Collecotte,” Kolkota, etc.), but Kalikshetra, literally, the “field of Kali,” in whose form the spirit of Sati is said to have manifested itself. The word “Calcutta” is said to be a corruption of Kalikshetra through ‘Kaliksheta’ and ‘Kalikota.’ Some have thought it to be a corruption of “Kalighata,” while others have held that there is no connection between the two words. But the derivation of the word “Calcutta” from the name of the goddess “Kali,” whose present location is at Kalighat, in the southern section of the town, is accepted by many writers of repute.⁽²⁾

In the “Pithamala” of the “Nigamakulpa,” Kalikshetra is said to extend over two *fojanas* (16 miles) from Bahula to Dakshineswar, and the area, within it to which sanctity attaches, is described as a triangle, two miles (one *krosa* or “koss”) in extent. The triangle stands on the river Ganges, and contains the three primeval gods of the Hindu trinity—Brahma, Vishnu and Siva—at its three angles, with the goddess Kali at its centre.

The identification of this triangular island, situated between Dakshineswar on the north and Bahula on the south, with the ancient site of Calcutta, appears to admit of but little doubt. With the Chitpur creek on the north, the Adiganga⁽³⁾ on the south, the Salt Water Lakes on the east and the Hooghly on the west, Calcutta in the twelfth century⁽⁴⁾ must have been a triangular area of

⁽¹⁾ See Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, page 126.

⁽²⁾ See *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, 1873, page 370; Dr. H. Brooks' *London General Gazetteer*; Rev. Long in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. 36, page 168; Major Ralph Smith's report of the 24 Parganas.

⁽³⁾ The original bed of the Ganges by Hindu tradition, now known as Tolly's nulls—See Wilson's *Early Annals*, Vol. I, page 133; also Ferguson in the *London Geological Society's Journal*, 1863.

⁽⁴⁾ The “Pithamala,” in spite of being described as very ancient, could not have been written before Tantric rites came into fashion, see page 7.

about two miles, for the Salt Water Lakes were close to Scaldah, and the Adiganga, stretched as far north as Chowringhee.⁽¹⁾

If, then, Calcutta derives its name from "Kali," and has been co-existent with Kalikshetra,⁽²⁾ to what remote antiquity can it be traced?

If the wild fury of Mahadeva rushing madly about with Sati on his shoulders be construed as an allegory embodying a theory of creation, it depicts the impact of "Prakriti" and "Purusha," of matter and force. Vishnu, the preserver, merely severs asunder inert matter while set in motion and distributes it over wide areas to form various nuclei for the formation of different sanctified regions. This interpretation is, however, of no use to the antiquary who seeks not for philosophies but for dates. But if the allegory be understood to describe an historical fact, we may read in it the story of the dismemberment of a kingdom. Daksha is called "Prajapati," the preserver of his subjects. Sati, otherwise called "Sakti," is the power born of his loins. By his own hantour while 'drunk with power,' he sets the powerful destroyer against himself, and his power disappears. Destruction threatens everywhere; anarchy reigns supreme. At this stage the preserver appears and parcels out into various sections the kingdom which now lies a helpless corpse. He replaces anarchy by order, confusion by organization, lifelessness by energetic vitality, and plants the seeds of new life in spots that lie far apart, so that each spot may become a centre of independent growth.

Thus interpreted, the legend may be taken to refer to the emigration of the Aryans from Daksha's country and their colonisation of different parts of India. As, however, on the result of the distribution, the locality from which Calcutta derives its name is sanctified in the name of Kali, a goddess unknown to the Vedic religion of the Aryans, the story takes us back merely to the Tantric age when, on account of the decay of Brahminism during the Buddhist period, the instinct of self preservation compelled the Brahmins to admit to the Hindu pantheon a great many of the gods and forms of worship of the aboriginal tribes with whom they came into contact, and Tantric rites, embodied in the worship of the goddess Kali amongst others, came into vogue. It is matter of history that in Bengal King Adisur, whose reign is variously timed between the seventh and the ninth century of the Christian era,⁽³⁾ felt the necessity of importing Brahmins from Kanauj and of inducing them to settle down with their families by the offer of landed estates. As many as fifty-six separate estates (grām) were given free of rent to the children of the five Brahmins he caused to be brought down to Bengal. Religious worship through the medium of Brahmins could not have been prevalent to any considerable extent at that time. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the number of Brahmins, though generally inferred to have consisted of 700 families from their name "Satsati," (seven hundred),⁽⁴⁾ was an appreciable quantity; for the social history of the Bengali Brahmins, as opposed to that of the descendants of the Kanauj Brahmins, may be said to be conspicuous by its absence from the annals of Bengal.⁽⁵⁾ No mention of the worship of Kali is found in any of the proceedings of Adisur's court, and it is nowhere stated that he settled the Kanauj Brahmins in order to prevent the spread of Tantricism. On the contrary, he found that Vedic rites were not

(1) Hindu tradition as well as the "Pitambarā" places the original temple of the goddess Kali where Brookes places it. A writer alludes to this in a recent issue of the *Nabhyadharat* (Agrahayan 1896, page 129), a Bengali periodical of the Brahmin Samaj. He fixes its site at the "Pusta Bazar" on the Strand Road and recommends excavations for ascertaining the relics of the temple. The temple of Siva is by tradition, fixed at the south-eastern corner of the triangle within modern Bhabanipur, and that of Vishnu or Govinda at the south-western corner, both on the northern bank of the Adiganga, and the latter at its confluence with the Hooghly, while that of Brahma is fixed at the straw-market, locally called Khore-pota at Bagbar on the south of the Chitpur creek. The original temple of Kali is said to have sunk into the ground during an earthquake in the 15th century, when the goddess was, it is said, removed to the side of her lord and husband Mahadeva, whence the name of Bhabanipur—"Bhabani" being another name for Kali. The temple of Brahma is said to have diluviated away in the 16th century, but Brahma worship at its old site which reformed *in situ* in the 17th century, was a feature of the great annual gathering at the straw-market up to the year 1862.

(2) Wilson doubts this derivation (*Early Annals*, Vol. I, footnote, page 129). Bipradas's "*Manasa*" (see Chapter III) proves that Calcutta had been differentiated from Kalighat in 1493 A.D.; it does not prove that it had existed before or had derived its name independently of it.

(3) The majority of authorities place Adisur's reign in the ninth century.

(4) *Castes and Tribes of Bengal*, by N. S. Basu, pages 114-115.

(5) *Sambadharinaya*, pages 51-52.

understood and that there was no substitute for them in the popular worship. It was with the express object of establishing Vedic rites—not in opposition to any prevailing Brahminical ritual, but in order to enlighten the darkness of religious ignorance—that he invited the Vedic Brahmins of Kanauj to settle in Bengal. It is, moreover, impossible that the sanctuary of Kalikshetra could have existed in Adisur's days without attracting the attention of the King and his courtiers, while there is considerable significance in the fact that as far as the estates awarded by Adisur to the 56 children of the five Kanauj Brahmins can be traced, there is not one that can be identified with Calcutta or its neighbourhood on the eastern bank of the Hooghly.^(a)

Tantric rites did not come to be in vogue in Lower Bengal till the time of Vallala Sen in the 12th century.^(b) That they then became fashionable with the Brahmins we learn from a work by his minister Halayudha entitled "Brahman Sarbashwa." But it is very doubtful whether the worship of Kali was at all popular or was openly recognised by the court. In the records of Kalighat, we find no trace of any "sanad" or grant from any of the Hindu Kings or their contemporaneous citizens such as we would naturally expect a popular sanctuary to possess. This seems to show that the sanctuary did not attain much importance till the days of Hindu rule were over.

Hindu legend thus furnishes us with a story of Calcutta in continuation of its underground history. We learn from it that the site of the town must have been sufficiently raised for human habitation before the 12th century; that it came to have a name for it shortly after its reformation; that the name was Kalikshetra, being derived from the aboriginal goddess Kali who was absorbed into the Hindu pantheon, but not popularly worshipped in the time of King Vallala Sen; that it was in form a triangle, about two square miles in extent, in the centre of which stood the goddess Kali, watched and attended as a new comer, by the three most ancient and most reliable Hindu gods—Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswara, one at each corner of the triangle. As the worship of this newly acquired goddess had to be performed in accordance with her old aboriginal rites, by human and other sacrifices, we can picture to ourselves how she must have been placed in the centre of a recent formation surrounded by creeks and nullas, marsh and jungle, the abode of wild animals and venomous reptiles, far away from the seat of Government and the light of civilisation. We can also imagine how, at this period, the floating population of the locality would be made up mainly of aboriginal fishermen—Pōds, Jalias, Dulias and Bagdis—hunters, wood-cutters and falconers, such as Shikaris, Byadhs, Doais, etc., while a few tantric Brahmins, pilgrims and votaries furtively penetrated the jungles from time to time to make their offerings to the dread goddess, who, black and bloody, and decked in her necklace of human skulls, with set teeth and protruded tongue, triumphantly trampled upon the white Aryan prostrate at her feet.

Such indeed is the glimpse which dark legend and dim poetry scarcely brightened by any but a faint glimmer of historical light, enable us to get of the earliest condition of Calcutta then called Kalikshetra, between the 12th and the 15th centuries of the Christian era.

(a) *Babu's Castes and Tribes of Bengal*, pages 108 and 113.

(b) *Sambandhasmritya*, Part I, page 34.

CHAPTER III.

IN TRADITION AND STORY.

KALIKSHETRA, the land of the legend, 'extending from Dakshineswar on the north to Bahula on the south,' was, according to Hindu tradition, valuable enough in the time of King Vallala of Guar to have constituted a royal gift to a Brahmin family.⁽¹⁾ It is important to remember that there is no trace of Kalikshetra in King Adisur's time, but that it is said to have had a Brahmin proprietor in the time of King Vallala. Whatever be the exact truth of the matter, it would seem that neither Kalikahetra nor Kalikata (Calcutta) could have been very widely known prior to the year 1495 A.D., when Bipradas Pipalai wrote his Bengali poem called 'Manasa.' This obscure poet is of no small service to the historical student, for he gives us the first authentic reference to Calcutta by its modern name in a description which bears on its face the stamp of truth.

The journey of Bipradas's hero down the river Hooghly is thus described⁽²⁾ :—

"The first place after passing Triveny was Kumarhatta, an important Brahminic settlement of very ancient date. Its modern name is Haliahar⁽³⁾ in the district of the 24-Parganas. Kumarhatta was on the left. On the right, however, he saw Hooghly, modern Hugli. . . . On the western bank are mentioned Rishira, Konnagar, and on the east Sakchar, Kotrang, and Kamarhati. Ariadaha and Ghnsuri are also mentioned before the fleet reached Chitpur, with its ancient temple dedicated to the 'Saryamangala Devi.' After passing Chitpur on the eastern side, mention is made of Calcutta. It is a mere mention just as that of Ariadaha or Ghnsuri or Sakchar. More prominent mention is made of course of Betor on the other side of the fort, with its ancient temple of 'Betai Chandi,' where the merchant comes down to pay his homage to the goddess, and where he and his men take some rest, to do some shopping and prepare their midday meal. Betor was a place of trade, and it seems to have had a market. It was to Satgaon, what Jodda is to Mecca. Passing by a place named Dhalanda, the name of which still survives in the Dhalanda Lunatic Asylum, at Alipur, the fleet comes to Kalighat, where the merchant offers his worship to the goddess. Then he passes Churnghat, which is perhaps Churnapara, a market town, a few miles below Kalighat included within the South Suburban Municipality, Joyadbuli, Dhanasthan, and then comes to Baruipur. Near Baruipur was a whirlpool sacred to 'Kali.'"

It will be observed that Calcutta had already come to be known as a place different from Kalighat and that Kalighat itself was a mere riparian village sacred to the goddess Kali, but not important enough to merit more than a word of mention. The goddess was deemed to be just sacred enough for a visit and an offering on the part of the traveller, but not nearly so great as the goddess Saryamangala at Chitpur or the goddess Betai-Chandi at Betor, who had ancient temples. Nor was her renown such as to throw the poet into ecstasies over her adoration.

The 'Manasa' is not, however, the only poem that helps us in ascertaining the condition of Kalighat and of its presiding Hindu deity during this period. In another Bengali poem,⁽⁴⁾ said to have been written between the years 1577 to 1592 A.D., Kalighat is mentioned as one of the places visited by its hero, Dhanapati, on his way down to the sea, for worshipping the goddess Kali; and in a third Bengali poem written by Khemananda a little before, the blessings of all

(1) See the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, 1873. The gift, if made, must have been made either to Siro (Ghosal) or to Sisa (Gangul). There are doubts about Siro. The five Kananj Brahmins of Vedic fame brought down by Adisur were Sriharas, Bhattacharyana, Daksha, Vedagarva, and Chhandara. Their descendants made "Kulin" by King Vallala were—

(1) Disha,	13th in descent from Sriharas.
(2) Maheswara, 10th	" " Bhattacharyana.
(3) Halayudha, 8th	" " Daksha.
(4) Sisa,	9th " Vedagarva.
(5) Gobardhana, 5th	" " Chhandara.

Siro (Ghosal) was only fourth in descent from Chhandara, and it is therefore considered doubtful if he was living during Vallala's reign.

See *Nambardhaniraya*, Part I, page 279.

(4) Notes on the Banks of the Hooghly in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1892, page 1892.

(5) Known by this name in 1660. Van den Broucke spells it as "Alipoor" ('p' being a misprint for 'ss'), and describes its exact position as being south of Nala and opposite Tribeni, "two miles to the east of Hooghly and as much to the north."

(6) *The Chandikaboga*, by Mukundaram Chakravarti.

the well-known local gods and goddesses are invoked in a prayer, and the goddess Kali at Kalighat is mentioned in the same breath with "Betai" at Betor. The goddess had evidently acquired dignity since the days of Bipradas. In nearly a century's time she had reached the level of these other goddesses. As yet, however, she had not attained that fame in Tantric rites which evokes the enthusiasm of later votaries. In the works of Bipradas and Khemanda, Kalighat is dismissed with a passing allusion to it and its goddess; in the *Ganga Bhakti Tarangini*, published about the year 1740 A.D., it is described as a wonderful place where the Brahmins chant hymns, while the worship of the goddess, accompanied by the 'Homa' ceremony, is celebrated with much pomp and sacrifice.

It seems, therefore, tolerably certain that, although Kalighat had become known before 1495 A.D., its fame did not spread till after 1592 A.D., but was well established before the middle of the eighteenth century.

How did this fame originate? Did Calcutta share in the prosperity of Kalighat?

The history of Bengal, coupled with its social chronicles, affords a sufficient insight into the cause which, as we shall presently see, brought about the prosperity of both Kalighat and Calcutta.

During the years 1580-82, for the first time after years of unsettled Moslem rule, during which Hindu influence was conspicuous by its absence, a Hindu Minister of Revenue, appointed by Emperor Akbar, visited Bengal. This officer was a person of high culture and military attainments, and his dealings with the people of Bengal in 1582, when he compiled his revenue-roll, were exceptionally cordial.^(a) He confirmed all the jagirs and landed properties that had been acquired by the Hindus. He was soon followed by Rajah Mansingh as Governor of Bengal. It was not until 1606 that Mansingh quitted Bengal for the last time, so that it may be said that for nearly a quarter of a century Hindu influence was paramount in Bengal. And during this period the Tantric rites of the Bengal Brahmins, which had received a great check from the Afghan rulers, acquired a fresh impetus, and three Tantric Hindus came into prominence in Sarkar Satgaon (which included the present site of Calcutta and Kalighat). They were Bhabananda, who founded the Nadia Raj; Lakshmikanta, ancestor of the Savarna Chaudhuris; Jayananda, founder of the Bansberia Raj.

The story of the origin of their wealth and influence as told in the social chronicles of Bengal is interesting and instructive from more than one point of view. It gives us a fair idea of the extent of a Hindu General's powers in the Moghul Court. It proves that the imperial troops during Akbar's reign were not above seeking the help of Bengali allies in warlike times. It shows that Tantric worship was fashionable amongst the best of Brahmins and Rajputs of the day. It exhibits Akbar's policy and method of rewarding public services even when rendered by persons of no antecedent fame. It teaches us also that the reward of merit in those times consisted, not merely in the bestowal of titles and decorations, but also in the conferment of substantial gifts of land and of positions in the service of the State that were a guarantee of wealth and of the maintenance of the rank accorded. We need, therefore, make no apology for quoting the story here. It is as follows:—

Jiya Ganguli was the only heir of Panohu Ganguli, who had obtained the title of 'Saktikhan,'^(b) as an officer of the State. Jiya was therefore a man of substance. His wife died at childbirth, and he sat by the dead body of his wife, contemplating the future of the babe. Suddenly the egg of a lizard dropped from the ceiling and broke. A little lizard struggled out of the slime and lay still for a while, apparently dead. At this very juncture, there crawled up to it a little ant and the lizard fed upon it. Jiya saw in this a divine dispensation. So placing on the breast of the child a hastily written leaflet containing the well-known Sanskrit lines:—

काका कृपा कृतो येन ईश्वर प्रवर्धो कृतः

मद्वर्धितो येन तेन रक्षा भविष्यति ।^(c)

he left home and became an ascetic.

(a) See Stewart's *History of Bengal*, page 172, as to the effect of Todar Mall's influence with Bengal zamindars.

(b) Banu's *Castes and Tribes of Bengal*, pages 291 and 339.

(c) "Black! Who the raven made and the swan pure white.

Thou shalt by Him be sired: Who the peacock painted bright."

During his pilgrimage as an ascetic he was known at Benares and other places as Kamadeva Brahmachari ('Kamadeva' signifying one that has the passions at command). His extensive travels acquainted him with every known road to places of fame. His previous history made him an object of interest. His piety and asceticism won the admiration of Rajah Mansingh, who became his disciple. His advice to the General during his wars in Bengal was of much value, particularly in the matter of the disposition of the forces along the various routes of which he had full knowledge. He saved the General's life in many an hour of peril, and his influence with the Rajah was therefore very great.⁽⁴⁾

In the meantime the infant son left by Jiya had risen to be the chief officer⁽⁵⁾ of Maharajah Pratapaditya, the 'hero of the Sundarbans,' who had at that time subjugated the twelve feudal chiefs of Bengal called the 'Barobhujins,' had declared his independence, and had vanquished in open contest the imperial forces on more than one occasion. When, therefore, Mansingh was sent down to Bengal by Emperor Selim (Jahangir) to punish Pratapaditya and bring him as a captive to Delhi, the General's first object was to withdraw his *guru's* son from the Rajah's service. He carried this out through the help of Jayananda Sadramani, a neighbour of Lakshmikanta's, who made a great search and eventually found him at Kalighat. Bhabananda Kanungo accompanied Mansingh throughout his campaign and rendered material help in overthrowing Pratapaditya. For their valuable services the Rajah caused jagirs and titles to be conferred by the Emperor on the three men concerned—Bhabananda, Lakshmikanta, and Jayananda, all of whom were taken into the service of the State as 'majumadars' (collectors). Lakshmikanta, who was the owner of the goddess Kali, had Pargana Calcutta, amongst others, allotted to his jagir. His social status and influence amongst Hindus in Bengal rose high, owing to Mansingh's special regard, and both Kalighat and Calcutta became prosperous villages under his fostering care.⁽⁶⁾

Tradition carries back the discovery of the goddess Kali to one of Lakshmikanta's ancestors.⁽⁷⁾ But whether the idol was or was not known in King Vallala Sen's time, and owned by Sisa Ganguli, an ancestor of Lakshmikanta,⁽⁸⁾ there can be no doubt that its fame dates from its ownership by Lakshmikanta during Mansingh's Governorship of Bengal, and that it spread far and wide as the wealth and influence of the Savarnas spread over the main seats of Kulinism in Bengal.⁽⁹⁾

The family traditions of the Savarnas, who in spite of partial dispossession remained as proprietors of Calcutta with its adjacent estates until its acquisition by the English, carry us further back than those of the Setts and Bysacks, who were amongst its earliest residents. They ascribe the name of Chitpur, on the north of Calcutta, to their idol Chitreswari, which is merely another name of the goddess Kali, and of Govindapur, on the south of it, to the Govinda, the original Vishnu, placed at the corner of the sanctified triangle, who still exists under the name of Sham Roy as the goddess Kali's attendant at Kalighat.⁽¹⁰⁾ They tell us that it was the daily distribution of alms (*loot*), under a canopy (*chhatra*), from the offerings of their goddess Kali, which originated the name of the village "Chhatraloot," colloquially called

(4) *Sambandhaniraya*, Part II, pages 118 to 137; *Kalikhatradicipika*, pages 77 and 78.

(5) Sastri's *Pratapaditya*, page 117.

(6) *Sambandhaniraya*, Part II, pages 118—127; *Kalikhatradicipika*, page 78.

The bulk of Parganas Magura, Khaspur, Calcutta, Pakan, Anwarpur, Havelisahar and Hatingar which were given to Lakshmikanta remained in his family at the Permanent Settlement. (Proceedings of Lord Cornwallis, dated the 24th July 1783, and papers filed therewith.)

(7) It is not understood where Babu Surja Kumar Chatterjee heard the story about the discovery of the goddess by Lakshmikanta's descendants in the third and fourth generations as recorded by him in the *Kalikhatradicipika*. So far as we have been able to ascertain, in every branch of this family, Kamadeva Brahmachari is traditionally known to have worshipped her in Calcutta, where his ground is said to have come subsequently to be known as the "Fakir's ground." This ground was north of Kali's temple and had five sacred trees, from two of which Nimtala and Bat-tala are said to be named. See Wilson's *Early Annals*, Part I, Vol. II, xlix—li.

(8) See note, page I, footnote.

In some recent works by Bengali authors, various legends and traditions about the discovery of Kali have been stated. Professor Wilson has quoted one about Jangal Gir Gossain (see Wilson's *Early Annals*, Vol. I, page 130). These speculations have none of them, either family history or contemporaneous record in their favour, such as the tradition of the Savarna family possesses. Sir William Hunter's acceptance of it in preference to that of Atmaram Brahmachari, which is found in the Administration Report of the South Suburban Municipality and from portions of which he has quoted in his Statistical Account, shows that he weighed the evidence carefully before forming his opinion. No anterior Nadia Rajah, whose names have been mentioned in connection with the discovery of the goddess Kali, has ever been found in respect of the *debottar* property of Kalighat. Bhuvanawar Chakrabarti, the first priest of Kali's temple, was a contemporary of Lakshmikanta, and in the light of Lakshmikanta's full story, which is now available through the researches of Vidyanidhi and Basu and Sastri, it would appear that his introduction to Pratapaditya's uncle, Basanta Roy, whose priest he became (see *Kalikhatradicipika*) was due to Lakshmikanta.

(9) See Sastri's *Castes and Tribes of Bengal*, Vol. I, Part I, pages 293-294; also *Sambandhaniraya*, Part II, pages 123 and 125.

(10) The *Bhaktishyagorana*, an ancient Sanskrit work, makes mention of this maazh Govindapur.

"Chuttanutte."⁽¹⁾ They mention that it was from the annual *Holi* festival of this very Sham Roy and his spouse, Radha, during which a vast quantity of red powder (*kumkum*) used to be sold and scattered in and around their cutcherry tank, in temporary bazars erected for the occasion that Laldighi, Lalbazar, and Radhabazar derive their names. And further that most of the inhabited spots of the time situated within the sacred area were named after the gods, such as Sivatala, Kalitala, Siddheswari-tala, Panchanantala, Sastitala. And, finally, it is to the goddess Kali herself, called "Cherangi"⁽²⁾ from the legend of her origin by being cut up with Vishnu's disc, that they trace the name of "Chowringhee." Thus the names of the oldest known spots in the entire triangular area between Dakshineswar on the north and Bahula on the south are traditionally derived from its central goddess Kali and her attendant idols around, as was to be expected from its description in the Pithāmāla.

The old zamindars of Calcutta further claim that it was the hāt and bazar round their idols and their pucks zamindari cutcherry west of the tank that gave Calcutta its original importance and gave rise to the names of "Hat-tala" (latterly corrupted into "Hat-kholā," and Barrabazar (*Bara* being a familiar name of Siva); that it was the dōles near the Kali's temple that attracted a large population and contributed to the reclamation and cultivation of marsh and jungle, and that their culverts,⁽³⁾ landing ghat and roads,⁽⁴⁾ with a shady avenue of trees on their sides formed the only adornment of rural Calcutta in its early days.

Whatever truth these traditions and stories may have, it is certain that the Savarna zamindars were not the only or the chief persons to whom the prosperity of Calcutta was due in the pre-British days. The priests of Kali's temple—Bhubaneswar Chakravarti and his relatives, Ram Govinda, Ram Saran, Jadavendra, contributed not a little towards increasing its population. They settled down at Govindapur, and by their social influence and spiritual inducement attracted not a few of the orthodox Hindus of the higher classes to settle down near them. The family of Rukminikanta Dey (great grandfather of Maharajah Nubkissen), whose services in the Savarna family greatly benefitted Keshub Ray, one of the minor proprietors of Calcutta, was one out of several that made Govindapur their abode.⁽⁵⁾ The Setts and Bysacks, who were well-to-do traders at Satgoan, are known to have been amongst the earliest settlers there. They are said to have cleared much jungle, and there is but little doubt that it was chiefly through them that Govindapur and Chuttanutte got a large colony of weavers and a flourishing trade in cotton bales in later years, which became an attraction for the English Merchant Company.⁽⁶⁾ It was through

(1) The word is said to have been converted in later years—when the British trade in cotton bales became a prominent feature of the city—into "Sootalooty" and then "Sutanuti," from 'Soots'-cotton and 'looty'-skin. But "Chuttanutte" is the only word to be found in the early English records—*vide* Burnell and Yule's *Glossary of Anglo-Indian terms*. "In the letter-books of the Factory Council in the India Office, the earlier letters from this establishment (*i.e.*, Chuttanutte) are lost, but down to 27th March 1700 they are dated from 'Chuttanutte.'" See also Bruce's *Bengal and Ayra Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Part II, page 329. See Wilson's *Early Annals*, Vol. I, page 236. The first diary for Calcutta is "Chuttanutte Diary, 1688," *Ibid*, page 240 (Consultations, No. 61). See Diary and Consultation for August 23rd and 24th, 1690, etc. Compare the Bengali words "Chutter," "Dandkutter," "Harisharkutter," "Jalekutter," etc., and the word "Harimut," so very common in Bengal as the corruption of the word "Harifoot." For a contrary view, see Wilson's *Early Annals*, Vol. I, page 136, footnote. We think, however, that no Hindu will ever pronounce a 'cha' or 'ekha' as a 'sa', except in the East Bengal districts. The conversion of "Sootalooty" into "Chuttanutte" even by the phonetic process appears to be highly improbable. No doubt East Bengal influence was responsible for the spelling and pronunciation of the names of Shayista Khan and Shah Jahan occasionally as "Cha-esta-cawn" and "Cha Zehn," but they were not and could not be, from the very nature of the case, uniformly so spelt. Shah Jahan is written as "Saw Jahann" as early as 1661 (See Wilson's *Early Annals*, Vol. I, page 379); Shayista Khan is spelt as Shosta Khan (Consultation No. 54, Wilson's *Early Annals*, page 241). In fact, 'S' in a proper name was but rarely converted into 'Ch' in English correspondence. 'Sayyad' is always spelt with an 'S' and never with a 'Ch,' Abbas is never written as 'Abbasch'; Asad is always spelt with an 'S,' and never with a 'Ch,' and so are 'Sophy,' 'Salamis,' 'Sikdar,' 'Sanad,' 'Sicca,' 'Sarisa,' 'Souapuri,' etc., etc.

(2) The original name of "Chowringhee" is "Cherangi" in all the early records—*vide* Wilson's *Early Annals*, Vol. II (Consultation No. 851), page 178, etc.

(3) There is no tangible evidence that Chauranga Swami ever came to Calcutta and lived in its jungle as an ascetic, and gave his name to the village as some recent writers have stated.

(4) "Jorasanko" derives its name from a couple of culverts that existed over a small nullā.

(5) The present site of the goddess Kali at Kalighat is supposed to be nearly a mile or more to the south-west of her old site in the 16th century, which was at Bhabanipur. The Itam Road, Chowringhi Road, Bentinck Street, Chitpur Road, Barrackpur Road, and Grand Trunk Road are all said to be on the site of the old road made by the Savarnas from Baria, the seat of the junior branch of the family, to Hāt-sihar, where the senior branch resided.

(6) The road from Kidderpore to Barua in the last century presented a picturesque appearance, being planted with shady trees on both sides—a fine old practice. *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XVIII, page 284.

(7) See Memoirs of Maharajah Nubkissen by N. N. Ghose, page 4.

(8) Wilson's *Early Annals*, Vol. I, page 126.

them that the residents of Calcutta first got a glimpse of the Portuguese trading at Betor⁽¹⁾ from where they came to Calcutta and established a cotton factory (*algodam*) the site of which in Olive Street still goes by its old name of *Algodam*; and of the Dutch deepening the dry bed of the Hooghly between Betor and Kidderpur and levying their *soll* (toll) upon boats that used the deepened channel at a spot on the river bank in Calcutta which acquired the name of Bankshall (*Bankzoll*).

Amongst the Hindu residents of the time in Calcutta and its neighbouring villages, we find mention in the traditions of Calcutta of Manohar Ghose, an ancestor of Dewan Srihari Ghose, at Chitpur; of a predecessor of Govindaram Mitter, who acted as the "Black zamindar" under Holwell, at Chuttanutte; of Govinda Saran Dutt⁽²⁾ and Panchanan Tagore, ancestors of the Datts and the Tagores of Hatkhola and Pathuriaghata, respectively settled at Chuttanutte and Govindapur.

We look, however, in vain for any titled or opulent Hindu family of distinction amongst the residents, and the student of history cannot fail to be impressed with the striking contrast which British Calcutta with its hundreds of wealthy and titled Indian residents presents to this picture.

Hindu traditions, then, are not without historical value. Although oral family traditions like those of the Setts and Datts may and often do clash with one another, the stories of families written and preserved by the *Ghatakas*, such as those concerning Jiya and his son Lakshmikanta are often free from this fault. Stewart sets great store by them in his History of Bengal, and the Ayeen Akbari from which he takes much of his materials has, in his eyes, singular value on this account. These "heralds" doubtless did not minimise the glories of their patrons, but the nature of their work set limits to the natural tendency to exaggeration. We may, therefore, attach considerable importance to the social stories of the Bengal Brahmins, more especially as the work of the private 'heralds' had been taken up by public chroniclers before the period to which our stories relate.

From a perusal of these traditions and stories we find Kalikshettra of the legend developing into the villages of Chitrapur (Chitpur), Chhatraloot (Chuttanutte), Govindapur, Cherangi (Chaurangi), Bhabanipur and Kalighat. They depict them as holy spots coming to be known not for their population, industry or wealth, but for their idols. They leave us to infer that most of the legendary triangle of Kalikshettra becomes studded with small idols and their temples of mud and thatch which originate the names of the different localities within their boundaries. The population is still thin and sparse, no doubt, and scattered over the *dihis* or high spots on the river-side, but fishermen and votaries of Kali are no longer its only constituents. The worship of Kali is not only performed in public instead of in secret as in the legendary period, but has the support of the highest Hindus in the land, through whose influence the shrine of Kali attracts pilgrims and beggars in large numbers who settle down in and around Calcutta. Dutch and Portuguese trade at Betor and Garden Reach attracts the traders of Satgoan to Govindapur. They invite weavers and start a big trade in cotton bales in which the Portuguese take part. Cultivation is still meagre, but jungles are gradually being cleared, although still dense enough to give cover to tigers, dacoits and snakes. One brick-built catchery house by the side of a tank, a solitary landing ghat, two kutcha roads and an avenue of trees form the only emblems of civilisation besides the temples. The creeks and nullahs exist as before, but in diminished size and in different situations with reference to their positions in the antecedent period of legend. The Adiganga has receded from Chowringhee to Kalighat through Bhabanipur, and the existing idols of Kali and her attendant gods have been removed likewise from Calcutta to Kalighat.

This would appear to be about all we can discern of Calcutta between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, through the gloom of the traditions of Bengal and the mist of its social chronicles, before the light of history dawned upon its soil and illumined the horizon with the advent of the British merchants.

(1) Modern Banra near the Sibpur Botanical Gardens.

(2) It is claimed by the Datts that Govindapur derives its name from this Govinda Saran, while the Setts claim that the name originated from their idol Govinda.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BRITISH ADVENT.

BEFORE Mansingh came to Bengal, it had been, in spite of Akbar's great name, a hot-bed of intrigue and quarrel. When he was recalled in 1606 A.D. for service in the Deccan, he left Bengal in a state of complete tranquillity. All the rebels had been defeated and their leaders killed, imprisoned, or pardoned; the revenues of the mahals had been fixed; the rank and status of the more important public servants, both Hindu and Muhammadan, had been definitely and authoritatively laid down. There was, for the time being, perfect amity between Hindus and Musalmans.

In this state of affairs trade and commerce rapidly improved, cultivation extended, social and religious progress became marked. With a powerful zamindar's cutcherry and a Hindu sanctuary in its centre, and having a number of gods and goddesses around to attract pilgrims, Calcutta, founded on the banks of the sacred Bhagirathi (the modern Hooghly), had in it all the elements which go to make a Hindu town great.

Maharaja Pratapaditya had, through the help of Rodda the Portuguese Commander of his fleet, built several forts close to Calcutta during his transient struggles for independence. One such fort appears to have been built at Mutlah, another at Raigarh (Garden Reach), a third at Behula, a fourth at Tanna, a fifth at Sulkea, a sixth somewhere near Chitpore, and a seventh at Atpur (near Mulajor).^(a) These small, mud forts, however useless and insignificant by modern standards, were greatly prized in those days for their strategic value, the river being navigable only by small sloops and boats. Being an island and surrounded by water and within easy reach of the forts, and being, moreover, covered with jungle except on the river-bank, Calcutta was at that time a site not to be despised. Even at the dawn of the seventeenth century it had very considerable advantages over other neighbouring riparian towns and villages.

At this very moment, nature came to its help. The Nadia rivers began to silt up and a big 'char' formed at Halisahar opposite to Tribeni,^(b) near Satgaon. This gradually reduced the Jamuna to a narrow nullah. The Saraswati, which was the channel of communication between Satgaon, the great emporium of trade, the chief seat of Government, and other parts, began also to shrink away. A largely increased volume^(c) of water came thus to be forced down the Bhagirathi, which deepened and widened it in its lower reaches. The Adigunga and all the khals, jhils and rivulets on the eastern bank of the Bhagirathi that were connected with the river shared the fate of the Jamuna, the Saraswati and the Nadia rivers. They gradually shrank away into tiny little nullahs. The result was the formation of a large amount of alluvial land fit for residence and cultivation.

Migration of fishermen and cultivators from the upper riparian regions into these new formations, rapidly followed by that of higher castes, took place as a matter of course. The time was most opportune. Pratapaditya's independent little kingdom had just been dismembered. A large number of people that had been in his service were thrown out of employ. These included a number of Portuguese (and, it is also said, a few Armenians) who had settled down and built Christian churches in 1599 A.D.^(d) They all looked out for "fresh fields and pastures new." And we can imagine Lakshmikanta Majumadar, whose influence with them during Pratapaditya's rule must have been great, bringing them away and settling them in the new formations, all of which appertained to his jagir. A number of Brahmins from Halisahar, Neemta, Tribeni and Yasohara are known to have come and settled down with their servants in and around Calcutta at this time. The improved navigability of the Bhagirathi, and the increasing difficulty of carrying laden boats up and down the Saraswati for purposes of trade with Satgaon, diverted the entire trade of the "famous port of Satgaon," as it was still called,

(a) See Sastri's 'Pratapaditya.'

(b) See De Barce and Van den Broecke's maps. See also Wilson's *Early Annals*, page 132.

(c) The Damuda had not yet run away from Satgaon. See Fergusson in the *Journal of the Geological Society of London*, volume 19, 1863.

(d) See Sastri's *Pratapaditya*, page 170, footnote.

from the Saraswati into the Bhagirathi. Betor, the door to the trade of Satgaon, situated at the confluence of the Saraswati and the Bhagirathi, gradually lost its trade. It was here that the Portuguese *galiassees* used to lie at anchor between 1530 and 1560 A.D. It was to control its trade that Rodda,⁽⁴⁾ the Portuguese captain of Pratapaditya's fleet, had caused a fort to be built at Tanna, within sight of it. Since 1540, however, the Portuguese trade was being gradually transferred from Betor to Hooghly, where 59 years later they obtained permission of the Emperor, to build a fort and a church.

As the consequence of the diversion of the trade of Satgaon from other channels into the Bhagirathi (Hooghly), cities and villages rapidly grew up on its banks. Thus the three villages "Chhattranut" *alias* Chhuttanutte or Chatanati,⁽⁵⁾ Kalikata and Govindapur came into prominence together with the newly formed villages of Bhabanipur⁽⁶⁾ and Kalighat on their south and Chitrapur on the north. Still, however, it was mainly the river banks that were high enough to be inhabited. Inwards only patches of land were fit to be brought under the plough; the rest was low and marshy and covered over with jungle, liable to inundation during the rains and during high tides. Between Govindapur and Kalighat there was a creek marking the northern edge of the old site of the Adigunga, as we know from the *Chandikanya*, which connected the Bhagirathi with Balughata and the Salt Water Lakes, while a smaller nullah still separated Govindapur from Kalikata and another, still smaller,⁽⁷⁾ divided the latter from Chuttanutte. The highest points were the *dihis*⁽⁸⁾ (bustee or high land) of the villages Kalikata, Chhuttanutte and Govindapur on the river bank. Kalighat was connected with Chitpur by a road passing along the edge of the *dihis*.⁽⁹⁾ Nikaris, Jalias and Pods,⁽¹⁰⁾ all fishermen by profession, used to anchor their boats in the creeks during the night.

With the breakdown of Satgaon, Hooghly rose to great importance. The Portuguese improved its trade greatly and so did the Dutch, when they established their factory close to it at Chinsura in 1625. Eight years later, the English came to Orissa and soon after established factories at Harishpur and Balasore. In 1641 they decided, after considerable hesitation, to continue those factories which some of their factors had decided to abandon. In 1645 Gabriel Broughton acquired considerable influence at the Imperial Court at Agra, where he had, it is said, restored Princess Jahan-ara, the eldest and pet daughter of Emperor Shah Jahan, to life, after she had been given up by the Court physicians. He came and resided with Prince Shah Shuja, Governor of Bengal, at Rajmahal and used his influence so well that, in 1652, he procured the English letters-patent granting them permission of trade in Bengal without payment of customs or dues.⁽¹¹⁾ At this time two Englishmen, Bridgeman and Stephens, were negotiating with the Local Governor, for the establishment of a factory at Hooghly. In 1658 an English factory at Hooghly was a *fait accompli*, besides which they had agreed to have three separate, but inferior agencies at Balasore, Cassimbazar and Patna. It was in the second factory at Cassimbazar that Job Charnock was appointed fourth factor.

In the establishment of the factories at Hooghly and Cassimbazar and in the appointment of a strong, versatile man like Charnock to one of them, lay the foundation of the mighty British Empire in the East. It was to these two places that the real power of the Government was transferred, when Moghul rule became nominal. By taking part in, and watching over, the counsels of Government, through 'vakils' and servants, the English became thoroughly conversant, not only with the utter rottenness of Moghul rule, but also with the

(4) A large number of Portuguese were in his service of Maharaja Pratapaditya between 1570 and 1600 A.D. See *Maharaja Pratapaditya* by Sastri.

(5) See Wilson's *Early Annals*, Vol. I, page 135, footnote. See also *Anglo-Indian Glossary* by Yule and Burnell, London, 1886.

(6) The gradual transfer of the Goddess Kālī from Calcutta through Bhabanipur into Kalighat, owing to the recession of the Adigunga, is indicated by the position of the villages as well as their names.

(7) "Jorassako" derives its name from a pair of culverts, the relics of which are said to have been found during the excavation of a drain in the year 1880 A.D. (*The Basuka*, page 171.)

(8) The word "dihī" was corrupted into "Deo." See "Deo Calcutta" in Holwell's *India Tracts*, pages 144-148, Barabazar, Lalbazar, Santoso Bazar, John Bazar, Buribola Bazar, Sam Bazar and Now Bazar were all situated in "Deo Calcutta."

(9) See Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, page 85, regarding the "immemorial pilgrim path" to the Kalighat shrine.

(10) Jaliapara, Nikaripara, derive their names from the settlement of the fishermen. The ancestors of the present Mondals of Kotajpur near Barnipur were amongst the first settlers in Calcutta.

(11) Bruce's *Annals* I, 463, 464. Wilson doubts this. See his *Early Annals*, volume I, page 37 footnote.

most vulnerable points in their system of Government. The extent of real strength in the local army, the condition of the local exchequer, the points of view from which, and the nature and importance of the classes by which, the Subadar was respected and hated, the intrigues of local potentates, their desire for supplanting the existing Government, were matters that did not escape the vigilance of the ill-treated merchants from Great Britain. And with a man like Charnock at their head, they made the best of their opportunities.

It was during this very year, 1658, that dissensions among the sons of Emperor Shah Jahan ripened into an open civil war. Thus the year 1658 must remain ever memorable in history. It saw the seed sown for the dismemberment of a mighty existing empire and the rise of a mightier one in its place.

The English did not remain long in Hooghly.

With civil war and Court intrigue at Delhi and Agra, the Viceroy and other local Governors began to defy the central power and to do just as they pleased. The letters-patent, *firmans* and *nishans* for free trade, which the English procured at great cost and trouble from the Imperial Court or the Bengal Viceroy, came to be treated as so much waste paper. Dutch and Portuguese rivalry secretly fomented a rupture between the Government and the English. Between 1658 and 1661 the English were harassed by the exactions of the Governor and his agents. In 1667 Emperor Aurangzeb granted letters-patent to the English for free trade, and in the year 1668 they established an agency at Dacca, which was the then capital of Bengal. And in 1672, Shayista Khan, Governor of Bengal, proclaimed due adherence to the terms of the grant. Thus, although the last comer amongst Europeans, the English had, by sheer perseverance and tenacity of purpose, secured equality of terms with the Dutch, within a couple of decades of their arrival in Bengal, while during these twenty years, the Portuguese had all but effaced their power and trade by crime and violence and by accepting minor military posts under native chiefs. A few years later, under a threat of wholesale destruction on account of their piracy, a great many of the Portuguese that remained in Bengal were compelled to settle down by Imperial command, as insignificant cultivators at Dacca and Chittagong.

In spite, however, of the occasional renewal of *firmans* and letters-patent, the trade of the English Company suffered. The Moghul Government was, as a matter of fact, losing control of its subordinates. The deputies, too, were becoming powerless to contend against powerful intriguers. By paying large sums to their Dewans and other subordinates, the English secured promises and paper-titles which were easily set aside by subordinate officials with impunity. Actual power lay in whomever was strong enough to assert it. The Company was not slow to watch the symptoms and recognise the disease. In 1686 Charnock openly defied the Musalman Government and ransacked Hooghly. This incensed Shayista Khan greatly, and he resolved "to crush the English and force them to submit to his wishes." But he did nothing of the sort. Although compelled to leave Hooghly after two months, the English were neither crushed nor subdued. On the contrary, in December 1686, Job Charnock halted at Chuttanutte on his way down the river from Hooghly and formulated proposals,^(a) in one of which he demanded compensation for the petty reprisals made by the Nabob at Patna and Maldah. On receipt of these proposals, the Nabob ordered his subordinate Governors to drive the English out of Bengal. Charnock at once took the offensive. He destroyed the King's salt-houses and took and demolished the Tauna and Garden Reach forts, sacked Balasore and seized Hidjeee. Here he was attacked by the Nabob's force and, after three months, a cessation of arms was agreed upon. The local magnate, Abdus Samad, promised to procure from the Nabob the confirmation of the twelve Chuttanutte articles; but he failed. The Nabob simply warned the English and declared that he would not pardon them for similar mischief in the future, although at the same time he accorded them permission to settle at Uluberia and carry on their trade at Hooghly.

Charnock resolved he would not settle in trade until the articles were confirmed, but he came up the river to Chuttanutte, with all his ships to

(a) In the twelve Chuttanutte articles, Charnock demanded --

- (1) A sufficient quantity of land to build a fort on.
- (2) A mint for coining money.
- (3) Trade, custom free.
- (4) Rebuilding by the Nabob of the Maldah Factory destroyed by his men.
- (5) Restoration of all the money taken.
- (6) Help to recover debts.

"recruit provisions" and "spin out the monsoon." This was in September 1687.

It will be seen from the above rapid sketch of this eventful period that both in December 1686 and in September 1687, Charnock's advent to Chuttanutte was associated with a demand of amends at the hands of the Nabob. On both occasions, he determined to obtain a guarantee, not from the Nabob alone, but also from the Emperor Aurangzeb, against future claims for damages.

The days for begging favour at the Viceroy's hands had vanished. The spirit of the peaceful merchant had disappeared. The idea of a footing of equality with the governing Nabob had already gained ground, and the claim for a fort and for coining their own money had been steadily put forward, in spite of the Nabob's active hostility and outspoken threats.

Job Charnock had lived at Cassimbazar and left it. He had stayed at Hooghly and given it up. He had seen Balasore and forsaken it. He had resided at Hidgelee and turned away from it. He had tried Uluberia and abandoned it. He had but visited Chuttanutte once before on his way down the Hooghly and had returned to it a second time. There was something in it that had undoubtedly greater attractions for him than those other places. The Nabob wished him to settle his factory near Hooghly, but Charnock stirred not.^(a) He had felt that Chuttanutte had advantages for the English which the others lacked. Provisions were plentiful at its hâts and bazars. There was a broad road for communication by land with the interior, and yet the village was an island and could be cheaply defended. It was a secure position for a naval power. To attack it the Hooghly must be crossed and the attacking force, whether Moghul or Mahratta, would be liable to destruction in the act. The village itself and the country on the north, on the east and on the south, were owned by a Brahmin family from whom land could, if necessary, be obtained on the most easy terms. The Hooghly had become deep enough just below the town for large ships to ride in. A suitable landing ghât had been built, and there existed a pukka building which might be available for the use of the factors in case of need. There was no contentious, intriguing factions, as there were at Hooghly or Cassimbazar. Being marshy and unhealthy, the place had not much value in the eyes of the Moghul. The expenses of a settlement here were, therefore, likely to be cheap. Articles of export could also be had, as tradespeople, such as the Setts and Bysacks, had, as we have already seen, established their business here. But this was not all. The skirmish at Hooghly was due to friction between the Nabob's troops and the English soldiers. The fouzdar and his troops at Hooghly were therefore to be avoided. While securing this advantage, Chuttanutte was close enough to Hooghly to keep the English promptly informed of what was going on. Being nearer the sea than Hooghly, it afforded greater facilities for sea-borne trade and for withdrawal with safety in case of a reverse.

If Job Charnock had decided to test Chuttanutte, for the second time, for these various advantages by a prolonged stay, he was doomed to disappointment. For within a year of his coming there he was superseded by Captain Heath, who, however, wavered and blundered, vacillated and swaggered, without promoting the interests of the Company in any way. On the contrary, had not the effect of his irregular and erratic conduct, and ever-changeable policy—as displayed in his withdrawing from Bengal, attacking Balasore and marching into Chittagong, and then abandoning his messengers to their fate and finally running away to Madras with the whole of the Company's servants—not been wholly nullified by the invitation of the "most famously just and good Nabob," Ibrahim Khan,^(b) who had succeeded to the *musnud* of Shayista Khan as Subadar of Bengal, it is more than doubtful if the English could have easily again gained a footing in Bengal. "Had Shayista Khan been still in power," says Wilson, "some means would have been found for evading" the order about free-pardon and free-trade which the English secured at the Emperor's Court at Delhi by means of "petition by their attorneys."

The English hesitatingly accepted the Nabob's invitation and returned to Bengal with Charnock at their head. On 24th August 1690, for the third and last time Charnock found himself at Chuttanutte, where "the restored merchants were received with respect." This was the foundation day of the 'City of Palaces.'^(c)

(a) Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, page 37.

(b) Bahadur Khan, Shayista Khan's immediate successor, was armed with a little brief authority only.

(c) Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, page 15.

CHAPTER V.

FORT WILLIAM.

ALTHOUGH Charnock had been received with respect by the local potentates, the position of the English at Chuttanutte was not altogether encouraging. They arrived during the rains and provisions were scarce. The huts built at the second visit to the place had been demolished, and the "restored merchants" had to live in boats and tents. Charnock, moreover, was old and enfeebled, and his subordinates had got out of hand. Portuguese and Armenian settlers clustered around the factory, and the influence of their households over some of the young Englishmen in the factory, led to "native habits," "black wives" ^(a) and "heathenish prayers" in the settlement.

Before his death, on the 10th of January, 1693, from protracted illness, Charnock had acquired the jagirdar's pukka catchery and the Portuguese Mass house. The former formed the first pukka lodgment of the Company's official staff and of its records; ^(b) the latter was destroyed by Sir John Goldsborough, who visited Chuttanutte on 24th August, to put the factory and its servants into order. ^(c) Sir John appears to have ordered the construction of a mud wall round the settlement, but he died in November 1693, before the work could be taken in hand.

In 1695 Eyre, who was agent, endeavoured without success to acquire a legal right for the English Settlement by obtaining from the jagirdar "the lease of two or three towns adjoining Chuttanutte;" ^(d) but in the following year, owing to Subha Singh's rebellion, which assumed formidable proportions in a few months, the fozdars of Tanna and Hooghly, and the zamindars on the banks of the Hooghly had to seek the help of the British, Dutch and French ships to protect themselves against the rebels. The Europeans thereupon wrote to the Nabob at Dacca asking for permission to fortify their factories. No express permission could be given, as the erection of any building or wall of stone or brick by the English at Chuttanutte had been previously interdicted under Imperial orders, ^(e) but the Nabob asked each party to defend its own factory.

The English now got the opportunity they had so long sought, and lost no time in laying the foundation of a fort that was destined to play such an important part in the history of Hindustan.

But while the construction of the fortress was being pushed on with vigour, they were not forgetful of the fact that they were mere squatters on the soil of Calcutta by the good-will of the jagirdar, and had no legal right or status. Through the influence of their friend, Zainuddin Khan alias Zoody Khan, who was for some time Governor of Hooghly, they had been received with attention by Prince Farruck-siyar, son of Governor Azim-us-shan, and they succeeded in 1698 by the payment of a present of Rs. 16,000 to the covetous Prince, in procuring, through the help of Khojah Sarhaud, a friendly Armenian, letters patent from the Governor allowing them to purchase from the existing holders the right of renting the three villages of Chuttanutte, Calcutta and Govindapur. Under this authority, the English purchased from Rámchánd Ráy, Manohar and others, what was called the zamindari of mauzah Calcutta, Sutanuti and Govindapur for a sum of rupees thirteen hundred only. ^(f)

Armed with this interest in the land which conferred security against an ejection, such as occurred at Hooghly in 1686, the English redoubled their efforts to complete the external defences of their factory.

The spot selected for the fort by Goldsborough, and fenced in after his death by a mud wall, was not situated in Chuttanutte, but in "Dhee Collecotta" (Dihi Calcutta). It was the highest piece of ground on the river-side, and included the buildings that had been acquired by Charnock. It lay north of

(a) Charnock himself had an Indian wife.

(b) Hodge's Diary II, 94; Hyde's Parochial Annals, page 35, footnote.

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) See Wilson's Early Annals, page 147.

(e) *Ibid.*, page 117.

(f) See Appendix I, Chapter VI.

the burial ground, where Charnock and Goldsborough were buried, and south of the Burabazar which supplied provisions to the British Settlement.

The construction of the first bastion and the walls of the fort was pushed on hurriedly, lest the Nabob should interfere before its completion and countermand his implied permission. In January 1697 it had so far progressed that 10 guns were sent for from Madras for present use, and by the end of May, a pukka structure of brick and mud had been raised in the place of their old thatched store-house. In 1702, it was reported to be strong enough "to ward off any attack by the country powers"—a second bastion having been added to it the year before. The masonry work was of good material, and very hard to break into. The curtain walls of the first bastion were more than six feet thick and those of the added bastion thicker. They "were battered with a fall in of about one in ten, and the outer faces were finished with a thin coat of lime plaster of a rich crimson tint and reticulated in imitation of stonework, the stones being about $1' \times 6" \times 9"$ or $10"$."^(a)

Up to 1707, these two bastions—one at the north-east and the other on the south-east—formed the only structures within the walled enclosure of the fort. Aurangzebe's death in that year and the resulting civil war amongst his sons—which formed the second stage in the disintegration of the Mogul empire—threw Bengal into confusion, and the English took the opportunity of adding two more bastions to their fort on the river-side facing the older bastions on the east. In 1710 Fort William, so named since August 20th, 1700, after the then reigning King of England, was in shape an irregular tetragon. The fortified factory had an eastern face of 630 feet and a western river frontage of the same length, with a breadth of 300 feet on the north and 390 feet on the south.^(b) Its curtain walls were about 4 feet thick and 18 feet high. Its projected east gate carried five guns, while each of its bastions had ten. The wall on the river-side was of solid masonry with embrasures for mounting heavy cannon, while the space between it and the west curtain was closed at each end by small cross-walls with palisaded gates. The fort was divided into two unequal sections by a block of low buildings running from east to west. The northern and smaller section contained an oblong building in its centre and a small water-gate, while the southern and larger section contained the Governor's mansion in its middle. From the main door on the western face of this building, a colonnade ran down to the water-gate and the landing stage on the river. All round the fort, chambers and arcades were built against the curtain walls and their roofs served as ramparts.^(c) One of these on the south of the east gate has come to be known in history as the terrible Black Hole, the exact site of which after years of search, has lately been established and is in course of being permanently marked out by a substantial monument under the personal direction of Lord Curzon, the present Viceroy of India.

The Governor's mansion was an imposing structure, "the best and most regular piece of architecture" that Hamilton, the "interloper," saw in India in his time. The building formed three sides of a quadrangle; its west face was 245 feet long, and its large hall was reached by a great flight of stairs. It took four years, 1702 to 1706, to complete it.

The old tank that was within the enclosure of the zamindar's cutchery, lay uncared for on the east of the fort. Only about 20 years before, if oral tradition speaks the truth, Portuguese Antony,^(d) agent of the proprietor of Calcutta, had been horse-whipped out of the enclosure by Charnock for attempting to prevent some English factors from entering it during the *Holi* festival of the Hindu god Sham Roy (Govinda), which was still being celebrated here as of old, in spite of the removal of the idol to Kalighat. Twenty years neglect had converted the tank into a dirty pond full of rank weeds and noxious matter, and it was now a standing menace to the health of the factors. So in 1700, it was deepened and lengthened, the eastern face of the fort being

^(a) Bayne in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part I, 1883, page 109.

^(b) Hyde's *Parochial Annals*, page 38. The extreme dimensions given by Wilson, after actual measurements, are east and west sides each 710 feet, north side 340 feet, and south side 485 feet.

^(c) Wilson's *Early Annals*, pages 240—242.

^(d) Grandfather of the famous "Antony Sahib," who is known throughout Bengal as the best "Kashirala" or minstrel of the time. After the assault Antony went and took up his abode in his master's zamindari near Kanahrapara, where the sites of "Antony Sahib's" building and hut are still known. Antony Bagan in Calcutta owes its name to the same individual.

thus made more secure and a good supply of sweet water secured for the garrison.

In 1710 a wharf was built before the fort, the bank of the river being rivetted for the purpose; and the ground on the south of the fort, as far as the creek ^(a) dividing Calcutta from Govindapur, was cleared of trees, thatched hovels and standing pools of stinking water, and a public thoroughfare made through it in continuation of the one that had already been made. This road, which was at the site of the present Church Lane, had various drains cut on either side of it to drain away the water into the creek.

In 1706, the factory house inside the fort, the old zamindar's cutchery which had saved the Company's records from destruction by fire in the days when thatched huts were all that could be had, was demolished, and new buildings were put up in its place. A good hospital and barracks for soldiers were also added to the factory, and a church for the benefit of their souls was built by the aid of contributions from the Company and public subscriptions. The church was named after St. Anne. It was 80 feet by 20 feet, with a high pitched roof, resting on massive pillars; it had a tower staircase and a lofty octagonal spire; and a bell was got out from England and hung from its porch to send forth its call to prayer before the Company had lived for half a generation on the sacred soil of Kalikshetra.

Subha Singh's rebellion benefitted the English in more ways than one. It not only led to the fortification of their factory, but also increased their importance and prestige in the eyes of the native inhabitants. While the whole of the country west of the Hooghly was over-run by the rebels who plundered and pillaged right and left, it was observed that the people residing within the sphere of the influence of the European factories remained unmolested and secure. The European ships and guns were a source of terror to the rebel chief who kept as far away from them as he could. This led the wealthy traders and landholders to leave their homes and settle down near the European factories. Stories about the security and protection of life and property afforded by the English factory at Calcutta were on all men's lips. The fair dealings of the English traders with Hindu merchants, and the latter's faithfulness to the Company, became the talk of the day. ^(b) One great reason of the popularity of the English traders with the masses was the consideration they showed to the lower castes. It was a washerman that became their first interpreter. ^(c) It was from amongst the trading castes—the Setts and Bysacks—that they recruited their first banians and servants. And when they took Brahmins and Kayasthas into their service, they accorded them no superior treatment. Although their action estranged the higher castes from them for a time, it enhanced their reputation with the people, who came to look upon them as incarnations of justice which indeed they were bound to do in a priest-ruled and caste-ridden country like Bengal. Thus the power of the English Company and its hold upon the Hindu inhabitants increased beyond all proportion to its wealth and political influence.

But there was yet one more benefit which accrued to the English from Subha Singh's rebellion. For a long time the English merchants had been split up into two factions—the Company's servants forming one party, and the free-traders, who were called interlopers, forming the other. In 1698, the latter had established a new Company which, under a royal charter, had been named in England the English East Indian Company, the old Company being designated the London Company. The jealousies of the officers of the rival traders had greatly interfered with their trade. But the rebellion of Subha Singh and the foundation of Fort William had resulted in so great an increase in the strength of the old Company that, in spite of the royal charter and the deputation of an ambassador to the Court of Delhi, the trade of the new Company had suffered severely, and as a matter of policy and prudence, amalgamation of the rival Companies was agreed upon in 1702, and fully effected in 1704. Thus, step by step, were all those obstacles removed that tended to check the development

^(a) Hastings Street marks the site of this old creek, which passed into the Salt Water Lakes through Wellington Square, Dingabhangs (so called from the breaking of boats at its site) and Creek Row which is named after it.

^(b) *Hodges' Diary* III, 17.

^(c) See *Wilson's Early Annals*, Vol. I, Part I, page 39.

of English trade and the heightening of English prestige. And although the affairs of the united Company were rather badly mismanaged during the "Rotation Government" by the officers of both the Companies, and the Nabob's emissaries extorted large sums from both from time to time, the trade of the English in Bengal and their influence and power over its people increased by leaps and bounds, and the area and population of the three villages—Satsnuti, Calcutta and Govindapur—increased in equal proportion. It was, therefore, not a matter of surprise that when in July 1710, the "Hon'ble Antony Weltdon, Esq.," the new Governor of Fort William, landed at Calcutta, he was "met by Europeans and natives in such crowds that it was difficult to pass to the Fort."^(a)

(a) *Summary*, section 391.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FACTORY LEADS TO ZAMINDARY.

THE marvellous rapidity with which the United Company's Settlement at Calcutta prospered on the completion of Fort William, excited the jealousy and cupidity of Prince Azim-us-Shan and Jaffar Ali Khan and increased their exactions. Parganas Calcutta, Paikan and Amirabad within which mauzas Calcutta, Sutanuti (also called Sataluty) and Govindapur were situated, appertained to Chuekla or administrative circle Hooghly, and the Hooghly officials were put up to harass the English in every possible way. The Governor at Hooghly sent for the native merchants who supplied goods to the English Company and "tried to get them to give him an obligation that they would not trade with the English."^(a) Upon this, the Council sent their vakil Rs. 15,000 to take out at once a Sanad for free trade, and threatened reprisals in case the Prince and Dewan refused to grant it.^(b) The Hooghly Governor refused the terms, and kept some of the English servants and one Englishman in prison and threatened greater severity. Thereupon, fearing an attack from the hot-headed Faujdar of Hooghly, the Council collected together all the Christians in the Settlement at Calcutta, and prepared for defence.^(c) The Prince's Quasidar interfered at this stage, and the Company sent another Rs. 15,000 to Rajmahal where the Prince and the Dewan were. But the more money they sent, the higher became the demand of the latter, who now asked for Rs. 35,000. The Council offered Rs. 20,000, but their vakil had paid Rs. 36,000 for the Sanad, and the Council resolved upon making an enquiry into their vakil's conduct.^(d) The Governor of Hooghly next demanded Rs. 3,000 to allow the English trade to be duty-free in his domains, and the Council sent the money.^(e) Within a few days, the demand of the Prince and Dewan at Rajmahal went up to Rs. 50,000 as a present for themselves, besides a sum of one lakh of rupees for the Emperor's treasury at Surat. At this, the Council got alarmed and asked for the intervention of the Governor of Hooghly.^(f) In the meantime, as their saltpetre boats were stopped on their way down the river, they resolved to bring them down by force,^(g) and also, when the Hooghly Governor told them that they could not get the Sanad for the sum they had offered and that Prince Azim-us-Shan and his Dewan were still determined to have an enormous sum, the Council refused to pay, and resolved to retaliate by stopping all the shipping subject to the Mogul Government as it passed their port and by withdrawing all English subjects to Calcutta. This last step affected the entire shipping of Hooghly and Rajmahal, as nearly all the best Captains in the employ of the Prince and Dewan were Englishmen.^(h) These threats had the desired effect. The Hooghly Governor at once reduced the demand to Rs. 35,000 from Rs. 1,50,000,⁽ⁱ⁾ and the Company paid the amount, on the distinct understanding that the requisite Sanad was to be got from the Prince and the Dewan for this amount. This, however, was not the end of their troubles, as the Company imagined. Their boats at Rajmahal were stopped within a little more than a fortnight of this payment, and Mr. Cawthorp, their agent there, was imprisoned and forced to give a bill for Rs. 14,000 to the Prince. On receipt of this news, the Council was very angry and refused to honour the bill.^(j) They wrote to the Faujdar of Hooghly and asked him to acquaint the Prince with the conditions of their agreement. But the Faujdar did, and could do nothing, so they eventually had to pay the Rs. 14,000 to clear their boats.^(k)

(a)	Consultation	237, April	19th 1708.
(b)	Ditto	244, June	20th "
(c)	Ditto	246, July	5th "
(d)	Ditto	247, July	12th "
(e)	Ditto	260, September	28th "
(f)	Ditto	263, October	22nd "
(g)	Ditto	270, November	16th "
(h)	Ditto	272, November	22nd "
(i)	Ditto	272, November	27th "
(j)	Ditto	280, December	12th "
(k)	Ditto	287, January	3rd 1709.

Even here the extortions did not cease. On July 15th, 1709, they were again obliged to agree to pay Sher Baland Khan, whatever sum their agent, Mr. Lloyd, could induce him to accept for granting them his Sanad for free trade,^(a) and once again, on September 3rd, no less a sum than Rs. 45,000 was paid to the Subahdar^(b) for his Sanad. This system of oppression and exactions, which greatly interfered with the trade of the English was renewed at every change of a responsible official, either at Hooghly or at Rajmahal, at Cassimbazar or at Dacca.

It was not only in their trade-dealings that the English were harassed and oppressed. They were, it seems, equally oppressed by the Prince and Jaffer Khan in their dealings with land, during this transitional period of the breakdown of Moghul rule, when there was no central power to keep local officials under control. It will be remembered that the English paid no less a sum than Rs. 16,000, as a present to the Prince, for his Sanad granting them permission to purchase the right to the rent of the three villages—Calcutta, Govindapur and Sutalooty, as Chuttanutte was then called. These villages were in the Jagir of the *Khalsa* (Imperial Government), and the original jagirdar was, as we have already seen, Lakshmi Kanta Majumdar in the time of Emperor Jehangir.^(c) Lakshmi Kanta's descendants were in possession of the villages when the Prince's Sanad was given, and they sold the villages to the English Company. Vidyadhar Ray, the senior member of Lakshmi Kanta's family, had, in spite of the Nawab's interdiction, allowed the English to settle at Chuttanutte and to acquire his own zamindari catchari building for the protection of their records. He had also withdrawn his local agent, Antony, from Calcutta, because of his quarrel with Job Charnock.^(d) For these acts of his, so runs the well-known tradition in the Savarna family, which is now settled in various parts of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, Vidyadhar was, on false prettexts, taken away and practically imprisoned, being kept under surveillance under the Nawab's orders. His children and relatives, therefore, were glad when the Prince himself granted them permission to sell the villages to the English. Troubles had come to them for their pro-English sympathies particularly in reference to their Calcutta properties and, in selling them to the English for a nominal value—we shall presently see that the purchase-money Rs. 1,300 was less than the annual rent of the property—they considered it a good riddance. Under the terms of the deed of sale,^(e) they conveyed to the Company *all the rights* given by law which they were *enjoying* and they guaranteed defence in case any person laid adverse claims to the property sold within its notorious boundaries. The English appear to have understood that they acquired by this purchase the proprietary or zamindari rights to the villages. But in this they were mistaken. The transfer sanctioned by the Sanad and effected under the deed, was deemed and intended to be a transfer of the rights to the tenant's rents, *i.e.*, of the rights of dependent talukdars, the jagir itself being, as all jagirs of the *Khalsa* were, non-saleable, and, in order to emphasize this intention, it was immediately declared to be in the absolute gift of the Prince, the Emperor's heir and representative, and a few years later, in that of Nawab Jafar Khan. The Company was, therefore, ordered to pay, not as *revenue* to the Imperial Exchequer but as *rent* of the jagir, the following amount for the three villages:—

				Rs.	A.	P.
Dini-Calcutta	468	9 9
Sutalooti	501	15 6
Govindapur in Pargana Paikna	123	15 3
" " " Kalkatah	100	5 11
Total for three Mauzas				...	1,194	14 11 ^(f)

(a) Consultation 390, July 15th 1709.

(b) Ditto 395, September 3rd 1709.

(c) See chapter III, page 10.

(d) See chapter IV; also appendix III, p. 37.

(e) See copy of translation of the *Bainamukh*, in Appendix I.

(f) As per *Izmat Khan Diwan's Perwannah*, dated 2 Shaban in the 42nd year by document No. 36 of the Addl. M.S. 24089 in the British Museum. We are indebted to Messrs. Irvine and Wilson for this information.

The rental for Govindapur in Parganah Paikan was soon raised to Rs. 210-9-0 from Rs. 123-15-3, and the sum payable by the Company to the Prince's jagirdar, amounted to Rs. 1,281-14-0. The rent was to be paid three times a year—on April 1st, August 1st and December 1st. The actual dates of payment, the amounts paid, and the names of the recipients are given in Appendix II at the end of this chapter. The relation of the rent-receivers to Lakshmi Kanta Majumadar and to the vendors is given in Appendix III. A careful study of these appendices will clearly show, that the vendors and their children were, for taking the Prince at his word and effecting the sale, under the ban of the gubernatorial authorities for more than twenty years, and that those only of Lakshmi Kanta's descendants, who had taken no part in the sale were favoured and recognised by the Prince and the Nawab as entitled to the jagir rent during this period.^(a) It would almost seem that the Sanad was given by the Prince in order to obtain the money, and that his intention was, not that the landholders should agree but that they should decline to sell, and thereby afford the Nawab and the Prince a further handle for extorting money from the English in their dealings with the land in the same way as in their trade-dealings. The wealthy English Company was treated by these two covetous and unscrupulous men in power, as the veritable milch-cow, the *Kamadhenu*, whom they planned to milk and draw from, whenever they had a chance.

It was not merely the Prince and the Dewan that extorted money from the English. Even the most petty officials appear to have followed the example of their masters. Jitumull, a *karori* or rent-collector of the Hooghly circle, under which the three purchased villages of the Company lay, so harassed the Company's officials at Calcutta by frequent demands for rent which, he pretended, were due for the jagir, that the Council was obliged to give him a present of Rs. 30, there being, in their opinion, no other way to put the payment off without making an application to his official superior.^(b)

In spite, however, of such petty exactions, the English were content with their position in the three villages purchased by them, particularly as, irrespective of the Hooghly officials, the jagirdars allowed the English to have their own way in all matters relating to land. It was different, however, with the surrounding villages. There they had, and could have, no power, either to protect their traders, brokers and servants, who were most rapidly increasing in number, from the oppressions of the Nawab and his emissaries, or to maintain order and control amongst them, without the powers of a zamindar.

It was as much to secure themselves against the tyrannous oppressions of the Nawab in their trade-dealings as to obtain the rights and privileges of a zamindar in these villages, that the Council resolved, in 1717, upon sending an Embassy to the Emperor at Delhi. Surman was placed at the head of this Embassy and Khojah Surhaud,^(c) the noted Armenian, who had secured the firman of 1698 from the Prince for the three villages of the Settlement, was placed as second in rank, on the distinct understanding that his remuneration, which was to be Rs. 50,000, would depend upon his success in securing the privileges of free trade and permission to purchase the zamindari rights.

In the petition of the English to the Emperor it was stated that the three villages—Govindapur, Sutanuti and Calcutta—had already been purchased by them from the zamindars, and approval to that transaction, and sanction to purchase zamindari in the neighbourhood were asked for, but the question of acquiring *proprietary* or *Jagir* rights in the purchased villages was apparently not raised, so far as we can discover from the few extracts of the Delhi consultations that are available to us.^(d) The prayer of the company was granted, chiefly through the exertions of Surhaud, who again succeeded in obtaining for the Company a confirmation of their former privileges of trade, and also permission to purchase from the zamindars thirty-eight riparian villages on both banks of the Hooghly, extending to a distance of ten miles from their factory. The object of the Company was to secure the full powers of a zamindar which were similar to those of a Magistrate-Collector of the present

(a) See Appendices II and III.

(b) Wilson's *Early Annals* 1, 355-6.

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) We are indebted to Mr. C. R. Wilson for the extracts.

day in kind, though not in extent, over the villages extending from Barahanagar, on the north, to Kidderpore, on the south, on the east bank of the river, and over a similar distance on its opposite bank. The necessity for the acquisition of these villages arose from the fact that the English with their shops, shipping, servants, and dependants, their banians, brokers, and traders, who were most rapidly increasing in number, lay scattered, in spite of concentration of the factors and soldiers in and around Fort William, over the whole of this area in straggling houses and boats; and, without the rights and powers of a zamindar, it was becoming more and more difficult to deal with them in the best interests of the Company. The two landmarks found by Hamilton in 1710, one at the extreme south of Govindapur and the other at the edge of the Dutch garden and log-curing establishment at Barahanagar on the north, with the salt-water lakes on the east, marked the boundaries of the Company's Settlement, not as it then was, but as it was intended to be. The Nawab, however, who was in fact, more or less independent of the Emperor since Aurangzeb's death, sternly forbade the zamindars through his own creatures, to sell their rights to the Company. The Dewan Subah was expressly directed in the Imperial firman not to impede the English in acquiring these villages by purchase from the zamindars. This mandate was disregarded by the Subadar, and the English felt justified, on the strength of their firman, in defeating the Subadar's intentions, when they found their *bond fide* attempts in exercising the rights conferred by the Emperor thwarted by the Nawab's machinations. They got possession of the villages, not directly, by force and violence, as Bolts says,^(a) but indirectly, through their servants and adherents. Some documents in the possession of the old zamindars of the parganas within which the 38 villages^(b) sought to be purchased by the English were situated, give us a glimpse as to how the Company's servants succeeded in frustrating the Nawab's prohibitory orders and obtaining possession of several of these villages.^(c) The zamindars, however willing, dared not sell the villages to the English Company for fear of the Nawab's oppression. Nor did they dare oppose the men known to be under the Company's protection, in their attempt to obtain possession of the villages. Thus some of the brokers and servants of the company or their dependants, managed to take possession of several of the villages adjoining the Settlement. They realised whatever rents and profits they could get, and omitted to pay the Government revenue, which, however, was exacted from the old, but dispossessed zamindars. The latter in difficult cases abandoned their zamindari, and allowed others to step in where they failed. It should be remembered that since Jaffar Khan's Settlement of 1722, zamindari settlements were technically subject to annual renewal, though this was seldom enforced in practice. But whenever the dispossessed zamindars found that they had a chance of recovering their estates, they appealed to the Imperial authorities. Some of them appear to have hit upon the plan of acknowledging the trespassers as talukdars under themselves to whom they assigned the charge of payment of the Government revenue. They did not, however, as in the case of modern patni taluks, grant that the taluks were transferable. And when the talukdars sold the taluks to the English, the latter took possession, but did not, and, indeed, could not, in the teeth of the Nawab's orders, pay the Government revenue. And, therefore when the revenue was exacted from the zamindars, they repudiated the talukdars, and representing that the sale was invalid, induced the Hooghly officials to issue proclamations, the sole object of which was to prevent the English from acquiring territory. This object, however, was seldom attained. The result was that between 1717 and 1756, the revenues of the villages occupied by the English protégés got unsettled in spite of Jaffar Ali's revised settlement of 1722; the old zamindars failed to collect rent, notwithstanding the efforts of the Nawab and of his officials towards maintaining them in possession; and the estates passed into various hands. The Setts of Calcutta, and other men of influence, came to be proprietors of several villages. The histories of mauzas Simla and Ballaghata are cases in point. In 1754 Holwell obtained a *patta* of Simla for Rs. 2,281 from two men called Nawaji Malik and Rashid Malik, and took possession of

(a) Bolts's *Considerations*, 1772, Appendix, page 1, footnote.

(b) See Wilson's *Early Annals*, Vol. II, pages 173-74. The villages asked for and the revenue paid by each are noted in Appendix IV, at the end of this Chapter.

(c) Beverley's *Report on the Census of Calcutta*, 1816, pages 94 and 98, pages 32 and 33.

it. Up to 1752, he had tried but failed to induce the zamindars from alienating their rights.^(a) In 1747, *i.e.*, 7 years previous to Holwell's purchase, we find Nanda Lal, a descendant of Lakshmikanta Majumdar,^(b) complaining to the Imperial Court about Nawaji Malik's taking unlawful possession of mauza Simla on a spurious title. He also complains simultaneously of Rashbihari Sett's obtaining unlawful possession of Balliaghata. The following purports to be a translation of his petition^(c) :—

Badshah Muhammad Shah Ghazi, Victorious, year 1155 *Hijree*, humble servant Sayyid Muhammad Khan Bahadur.

THE PETITION OF RAM RAM, VAKIL OF NANDA LAL, PROPRIETOR OF PAROANA KHASPUR ETC., APPERTAINING TO CHUCKLA HOOGHLY.

Mauza Balliaghata has yielded but small rent as the taluka of Manik Chand Sett. But as Dewan Muli Chand used foul language towards petitioner, petitioner paid the revenue in full. But this humble servant has always paid revenue according to the amount of collection mentioned in Court. Last year, Rashbihari Sett, son of Manik Chand, obtained a *sanad* by an intrigue with Bhajan Singh, and took possession of the ghât in the said village Balliaghata (to which he had no right as talukdar). This year the ghât is, as usual, in the possession of Nanda Lal, my client. But now Rashbihari has collected a lot of low people at the ghât, and may very likely make an attack upon my client. Secondly, Nawaji Malik of Calcutta, without any reason, has taken the possession of mauza Simla, and has procured a got-up *sanad*, although I always pay the prescribed revenue in the fixed time.

The petitioner, therefore, humbly prays to the Government for the favour of issue of an order upon Muhammad Yar Beg Khan for enquiry into these matters, and settlement of the disputes.

Ordered by His Highness Sayyid Ahmad Khan Bahadur that Muhammad Yar Khan Beg do make an enquiry, settle the dispute, and put an end to these oppressions.

Dated the 16th Shawal, year of Accession 20th.

This petition elicits an order for enquiry, but no enquiry is apparently made, or even if an enquiry is made, it leads to no result. Nawaji continues in possession, but omits to pay the Government revenue. Large arrears accumulate, poor Nanda Lal is made to pay them, and then in 1754, probably as soon as Holwell's purchase of the mauza becomes known, a proclamation is issued reinstating Nanda Lal as zamindar. The proclamation^(d) is in the following terms:—

YEAR 1162 *HUREA*, AHMAD SHAH BAHADUR GHAZI, YEAR 1ST BADSHAH, GHIAZI MUHAMMAD YAR BEG KHAN.

Know ye all chiefs, raiyats, cultivators of mauzah Simla of this division and also ye Amla in the parganna Manpur, Chukla Hooghly, Sarkar Satgaon, that on the death of Nawaji Malik and Rashid Malik, Talukdars, Rustom, son of Nawaji, defaulted to pay his rent, and never came to Calcutta, now inhabited by the English, and thereby incurred the liability of a considerable amount of arrears of the Royal revenue, upon the payment of which depended his talukdarship, and that therefore it is now declared, on the revenue being realised from Nanda Lal Chowdry, the superior proprietor, that the estate is made over to (the khas possession of) the said Nanda Lal Chowdry as per details recorded below, and that the said Chowdry shall remain in possession thereof and pay the revenue in due time into the Royal treasury.

The chiefs, raiyats and cultivators shall acknowledge the Chowdry as their independent talukdar, and pay him the rents, and they shall not acknowledge any other man as his equal or partner. They must acknowledge this as an obligation.

The 14th Rajab, 7th year of the August Accession.

Total collection	...	Ra. 127-7-15	} Parganna Manpur, Chukla Hooghly, Sarkar Satgaon.
Mauzah Simla	...	50-12 16 gundas, 2 cowries	
„ Makla	...	76-10 18 „ 2 „	

But these proclamations and orders were in effect null and void. Nobody paid any heed to them. The local revenue authorities were powerless to

^(a) Holwell's *Tracts*, 2nd edition; see also Chapter IX *infra*.

^(b) See Appendix III; also, Chap III page 10, foot-note(c). Owing to the special hardships entailed upon the Savarna family by the British acquisition of Calcutta and its adjacent Manass, Nanda Lal was, it is said, accepted as zamindar of Parganna Calcutta in 1783 (and his relative in 1793-94) although the terms offered by them were not as high as those of others. See lithographed copy of *sanad* in Persian at page 84.

^(c) See a lithographed copy of the Persian petition at pages 29-30.

^(d) See a lithographed copy of the Persian Proclamation at pages 31-32.

give actual possession to the zamindar. Thus the rapidly increasing power and prestige of the English in and around their fortified factory at Calcutta enabled their adherents to obtain and retain possession of many of the 38 villages which the Emperor had permitted the Company to buy, but of which the Nawab had, to the great loss and harassment of the zamindars, prevented the purchase through that petty spite, want of forethought and narrowness of view which was to cost him much of his prestige, and his successor all his power.

The English were, however, never slack in their efforts to obtain a legal title to their landed possessions. The greatest incentive to their desire for acquiring such a title was given by the sudden influx into the area demarcated as being within the boundaries of their Settlement, of a very large population on account of the Maharatta invasion of Bengal, under Bhaskar Pandit, particularly after the taking of Hooghly by his ally, Mir Hakeeb, in the year 1742.⁽⁴⁾ But this desire was not fulfilled till Clive arrived upon the scene in 1757. On the 9th of February of that year, the English compelled Suraj-ad-daula to agree by treaty to the zamindars giving up to them the 38 villages covered by the Imperial firman of 1717, several of which were already in their possession. It was in the following year, 1758, that they acquired by treaty with the new Subadar, Jaffer Ali Khan, not only the tracts of land held by other zamindars "within the ditch which surrounded the borders of Calcutta," but also 600 yards without, besides the zamindari of all the lands south of Calcutta as far as Kulpi. Twenty-and-a-half mauzas⁽⁵⁾ in immediate proximity to their factory were granted *revenue-free* to the English, besides the zamindari of the 24-Parganas.

Thus was obtained what has been called the "free tenure" of the town of Calcutta. The revenue-free grant, however, comprised not only all lands of the town of Calcutta, west of the Mahratta ditch, but a considerable part of the suburbs as well, on the east of it.

A translation of the Samads granting (1) the town and a few adjacent mauzas revenue-free, (2) the zamindari of the 24-Parganas, is appended.⁽⁶⁾

There is considerable difference of opinion amongst expert lawyers⁽⁷⁾ as to the legal position of the English Company at different periods. But from the facts now available, there does not appear to be much room to doubt that in 1687 the English were mere squatters on the soil of Kalikshetra under the sufferance of the Savarna jagirdar. They were not on the same footing as the Settis and Byracks or other native or European residents, such as the Dutch, the Portuguese and the Armenians. These latter settled with the knowledge and consent of the local landowner, and paid him rent. The English squatted against the wishes of the Subadar of Bengal and, as far as we can trace, paid no rent during their first or second occupation of Chittanutte. In 1690 they returned to Chittanutte in the same capacity, and founded their factory.

Thus, from 1690 to 1695, the legal position of the Company was that of a mere tenant-at-will, liable to pay rent to the landholder for the ground occupied by them, and to ejectment in case of default. In 1696 the Nawab's tacit consent to their building a fort in Calcutta gave them at least the right and status of a *maurasi* or occupancy raiyat, for none was in those days, allowed to make a masonry building without such a right. They appear also at this time to have purchased land from Basanta Ray, Raja Ray, and others, but it is not clear what rights were acquired by the purchase. In 1698 Prince Azim-us-Shan's firman elevated them, followed, as it was, by actual purchase of land from Rám Chánd Ráy, Manohar and others, to the position of a dependant talukdar but still liable to pay rent to the superior landlord, the jagirdar. The rent payable by them was fixed at Rs. 1,281-6-9 per annum. They settle tenants under them, grant them pattas, collect rent, allow houses to be built, register their sale and transfer, charge a registration fee and impose fines upon

(4) The majority of the old, high caste, native residents of Calcutta trace the immigration of their families into town to this occurrence.

(5) These mauzas were (1) Sootamti with its market, (2) Dhee Calcutta, (3) Govindapur with its market, (4) Mirzapur, (5) Iroglauria, (6) Simla, (7) Chaurangi, (8) Birjee, (9) Jala Gollinga, (10) Kaimpara, (11) Ambati, (12) Kishnupur, (13) Makunda, all situated inside the Mahratta ditch; (14) Bahir Birji, (15) Bahir Serampur, (16) Serampore, (17) Dauland, (18) Dhaidanga, (19) Sealdah, (20) Dakshin Pakpara, all situated outside the Mahratta ditch, (21) Goneshpur inside the ditch in mauza Mulunga.

(6) See Appendix V page 39.

(7) See Stephen in *Nasacoor and Inspry* II, page 26; also Hamilton's *East Indies* II, page 13.

their tenants and servants. They take back the pattas of the old land-holders from all tenants ⁽⁵⁾ in 1704 and grant new pattas, levying a premium from those that had no writings for their tenements; in the new pattas they note only the area and the rent of the holding precisely as a dependent talukdar, of the olden days would do. No doubt, even before the Prince's firman, they had realised, since 1695, a sum of Rs. 75-0-6 and upwards, from shop rents, fines, fees and duties. This was euphemistically called "revenue;" but the amount was merely the collection of a substantial trading raiyat of whatever he got from those under his influence, a few of whom were probably "under-raiyats," as we understand the term at the present day.

In 1717 the Company obtained the permission of the Emperor to become zamindar by the purchase of various estates, but no sales being effected, they continued *technically* as tenure-holder in all their landed possessions although they assumed and exercised the rights of a zamindar.

In 1722 Jaffer Khan's revenue settlement affected all zamindari, but it did not touch the Jagir or alter the status of the English at Calcutta, though it appears to have enhanced the *total* revenue payable for all the *maazahs* held by them and by their men *in the town and its outlying parts* to Rs. 8,836 per annum. This revenue became payable by the English themselves when in 1757 they obtained possession of all the villages by treaty with Suraj-ud-daula. ⁽⁶⁾ From 1758, the English were superior to the Subahdar, and altogether out of reach of any landlord. From the Revenue Officer's point of view, then, from the date they paid rent to the jagirdar for holding Sutanuti, Calcutta and Govindapur, the Company became tenure-holders; and over the whole of the area which they gradually added to their Settlement, either through their own possession or that of their servants, dependants, or adherents, they acquired *technically* no other superior rights until 1758 when Mir Jaffer raised them, to the status of an owner of estates, partly revenue-free and partly revenue-paying.

Those learned in the laws of the land might argue that, technically, the Nawab of Murshidabad was still but the Viceroy of the Emperor at Delhi, and that, as such, he was constitutionally bound to maintain intact the jagirs and zamindari granted by the Emperor or his predecessors, and to keep inviolate arrangements for the payment of revenue that had the seal and sanction of the Emperor, and that, therefore, the grant made by the Nawab was *ultra vires* until sanctioned by the Emperor. There are lawyers to whom even the grant of the *dewani* to the English in 1765 may not appear to be sufficient authority for investing in them the property of the soil, and there are others who say that absolute ownership of the land possessed by the English was not acquired by them till the year 1858 when the Company was superseded by the Crown. For such lawyers the discussion of the legal aspect of the town grant and of its effect and of the grant of the 24-Parganas zamindari by Sir William Hunter and Mr. Millet is appended. ⁽⁷⁾

Without, however, troubling ourselves about these strictly academic legal niceties of civil and international law, it seems to us that in actual practice the Emperor had ceased to exist in Bengal, except as a mere name on paper and as a shadow, long before the grants were made. Had that not been the case, the Nawab would never have dared disobey the Emperor's orders in 1717 as he did. Between 1707, the year of Aurangzeb's death, and 1760, no less than seven Emperors ascended the throne, but except Muhammad Shah whose inglorious reign, for a space of 28 years, saw much of the Moghul power gone, none reigned for more than six years, and most of them were mere creatures of designing and intriguing Ministers who did away with them or their power as occasion required. Although it was not till after 1760 that the English fought on behalf of the so-called Viceroy of Bengal against Emperor Shah Alam, still they had, more than any one else in the Empire, noted the disintegration of the Moghul Empire in all parts of India, and it was with the full knowledge that the Empire had in fact ceased to exist that they fought Suraj-ud-daula and, assuming the rôle of King-maker, planted Mir Jaffer on the throne of Bengal. It was in further illustration, if not development, of the fulness of this know-

(5) Consultation No. 88, 1704.

(6) See Millet's remarks in Appendix VI.

(7) See Appendix VI page 40.

ledge that they dethroned Mir Jaffer and enthroned Mir Kasim, a few years later, and they pulled him down as soon as they found him recusant, and put up old Mir Jaffer, now leprous and imbecile, once more on the *musnud* as their own puppet.

It was indeed with this knowledge that they intervened between Mir Kasim and Shah Alam, and procured for the helpless Emperor at Delhi a decent competence in the shape of a tribute of 24 lakhs of rupees from the revenues of Bengal. One may indeed say that between 1757 and 1760 they made and unmade Viceroys in Bengal, but that from the date of the battle of Gaya and Colonel Carnac's intermediation in 1761 as peace-maker in his own tent, between Sovereign and Subahdar, they held the key of the Empire as well in their hands. Their victory in the field of Plassey had not only placed them at the head of affairs in Bengal, but had also made them the virtual arbiter of the destiny of Moghal rule.

It will thus be seen that it was not as a mere trader, seeking privileges at the hands of the Governor, nor, indeed, as the commander of a force that helped his installation, but rather as a conqueror, dictating terms of peace to the successor of a vanquished enemy, whose very existence, not to say power, depended upon their good will, that the English obtained from Mir Jaffer the *sanads* of the "free tenure" of the town of Calcutta and of the zamindari of the 24-Parganas and from the Emperor a confirmation thereof. It seems idle, in the circumstances, to discuss the legal aspect of this acquisition.



مقدمان و رعایا و مزارعان قیمت موضع ^{و غیره} معلوم
 عمل برکنه مانور مرکب است که هم معلوم ^{مد} حکم و موکل
 چون بعد وفات نواز ملک و رشت ^{این} ملک تعلقات
 مواضع فرورستم بر نواز فرقوم ^{مال و اموال} در ادار
 متاهل نمود و در کلله آبادی اکثر برور ^{مال و اموال} اصلا رجوع
 و مبالغه با فقر خانیست بر آید ^{مال و اموال} نظر بر ملک تعلقات
 مالکدار است و از روفرقه فوکل و بان معلوم ^{مال و اموال} نیست
 مواضع فرورسانی تعلقات ^{مال و اموال} نمود و دلیل خود در
 بود لهندان شان مالکدار نیست مواضع ^{مال و اموال} مدکور
 از خود رند کور گرفته ^{مال و اموال} قیمت مدکور سزا ^{مال و اموال} بر زیر می شود
 مفصله الضمن به نمود و دلیل خود ^{مال و اموال} در رقوم متفرق
 دانسته شرح در قیمت فرور و خیل ^{مال و اموال} گردیده مالکدار است

بروف میگردد باشد باید که آنها خود در مکرور
تغیض از قیمت مواضعات بطور منتقل و استیض
نامبرده مالکته اری میگردد باشد و دیگری را هم
و نزدیک او بداند و بناب تا مکدر نزد آمد
تایج حیا کوسم تدرج از خرسه صول الایح

منہ نبی

ممنوع من مصلحتی و قیمت ممنوع سلاطین بکدام امور که با لایحه ممنوع متعلق بود
نویسندگان ملک در نزد ملک متوفیان به نفع ملل خود و قریب به بیست سال پیش از این

فخر محمد
 مستحق حمد
 ما برکت
 ۱۵/۴
 نور
 باغبه
 ۱۳/۱۲
 ۱۳/۱۲

مفت

قسمة مع سید
 سید محمد طاهر
 ۱۰۱۶
 کتاب التوحید
 ۱۰۱۶
 قسمة مع سید
 سید محمد طاهر
 ۱۰۱۶
 کتاب التوحید
 ۱۰۱۶

۱

مجلس اول

کاسه نیکو امانت علی و نجات حال نیکو برهان
 موعود و موعود نفع از نفع حکم اینست
 صاحب موعود نفع از نفع نفع نفع
 مستحق نفع نفع نفع نفع نفع
 بعلو نفع نفع نفع نفع نفع

۱۲۶
 علی و نجات
 ۹



نیم پل لکھنؤ
حضرت صاحبزادہ صاحب حکم مہاراج
اور شہنشاہی کمرہ کلاں
عمر کوہ پورہ مولیٰ طبرستان
کلاں ۱۹
۱۸۸۶
بیطریقہ کلاں
۱۹۸۸

M. J. J.

APPENDIX I.

"Copy of the deed of purchase^(a) of the villages *Dihi Kalkatah*, etc., bearing the seal of the *gazi* and the signature of the *zaminidars*. The details are as follows:—

"We submissive to *Izdm*, declaring our names and descent; (*viz.*) Manohar Dat^(b) son of Bas Deo, the son of Rāghu, and Ramchand the son of Bidhyadhar, son of Jagdis; and Ram Bhadar, the son of Ram Deo, son of Kesu; and Pran, the son of Kalekar, the son of Gauri; and Manohar Singh, the son of Gandarb, the son of ^(c); being in a state of legal capacity and in enjoyment of all the rights given by the law; avow and declare upon this wise; that we conjointly have sold and made a true and legal conveyance of the village *Dihi Kalkatah*, and *Satalati* within the jurisdiction of *parganah Amirabad* and village *Gobindpur* under the jurisdiction of *parganah Pargan* and *Kalkatah*, to the English Company with rents and uncultivated lands and ponds and groves and rights over fishing and woodlands and dues from resident artisans, together with the lands appertaining thereto, bounded by the accustomed notorious and usual boundaries, the same being owned and possessed by us (up to this time the thing sold being in fact and in law free from adverse rights or litigation forming a prohibition to a valid sale and transfer) in exchange for the sum of one thousand and three hundred rupees, current coin of this time, including all rights and appurtenances thereof, internal and external; and the said purchase money has been transferred to our possession from the possession of the said purchaser and we have made over the aforesaid purchased thing to him and have excluded from this agreement all false claims, and we have become absolute guarantors that if by chance any person entitled to the aforesaid boundaries should come forward, the defence thereof is incumbent upon us; and henceforth neither we nor our representatives absolutely and entirely, in no manner whatsoever, shall lay claim to the aforesaid boundaries, nor shall the charge of any litigation fall upon the English Company. For these reasons we have caused to be written and have delivered these few sentences that when need arises they may be evidence. Written on the 15th of the month Jamadi I in Hijri year 1110, equivalent to the 44th year of the reign full of glory and prosperity."

The date is the 10th November 1698 O. S.

APPENDIX II.

LIST OF RENT-PAYMENTS TO THE JAGIRDAR FOR MAUZAS SUTANUTI, CALCUTTA AND GOVINDAPUR BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

<i>Date in the Consultation Book,</i>		1703.			Ra. A. P.
1704 February 12	...	To the Prince's <i>Jāgirdar</i>	...		90 0 0
1704.					
1704, September 4	...	To Jitmal Karori the Prince's <i>Jāgirdar</i>	...	...	30 0 0
1712.					
1713, July 6	...	To Lakshminarjān	...	(P3)	70 0 0
1713.					
1713, April 28	...	To Sheoprasad	...	(A1)	.....
Ditto	...	To Lakshminarayan	...	(P1)	.....
1717.					
1718, March 24	...	To Rameswar	...	(C3)	30 0 0
1718.					
1718, April 10	...	To Sukhdeva	...	(A1)	325 0 0
1718, April 24	...	" Rameswar	...	(C1)	33 0 0
1718, May 13	...	" Mahāded	...	(P1)	70 0 0
1718, August 11	...	" Sukhdeva	...	(A2)	320 8 0
1718, August 18	...	" Binodram ^(d)	...	(C2)	37 8 0
1718, October 9	...	" Mahādeo	...	(P2)	71 0 0
1718, December 8	...	" Sukhdeva Rai	...	(A3)	325 0 0
1719, January 5	...	" Binodram ^(d)	...	(C3)	30 0 0
				(P3)	70 0 0
Total					1,381 14 0

(a) The *Satanuti* is document No. 39 in additional M.S. No. 2469 in the British Museum, the translation of which by Mr. W. Irvine, C.S., retired, has been kindly given us by Mr. C. R. Wilson.

(b) *Dat* is most probably a mistake for *Deo* or *Deo*, Raghudeva's son is Basudeva, whose son is Manohardasa.

(c) Gandarb (the name) was also a son of Gauri; the blank stands probably for 'ditto.' See Appendix III.

(d) In Jāfir Khan's *jagir*.

Date in the Consultation
Book—continued.

1719.						Rs.	A.	P.
1719, April	9	...	To Sukhdeva Rai ^(a)	...	(A1)	320	0	0
1719, May	7	...	" Binodram	...	(C1)	33	0	0
1719, Ditto		...	" Ditto	...	(P1)	70	0	0
1719, August	13	...	" Sukhdeva ^(a)	...	(A2)	320	8	0
1719, September 10		...	" Ramchand ^(a)	...	(C2)	33	0	0
Ditto		...	" Ramchand	...	(P2)	71	0	0
1719, December 8		...	" Sukhdeva ^(a)	...	(A3)	325	0	0
Ditto		...	" Sukhdeva	...	(P3)	70	0	0
1720, February 9		...	" Ramchand ^(a)	...	(C3)	30	0	0
Total						1,372	8	0

1720.						Rs.	A.	P.
1720, April	4	...	To Sukhdeva ^(a)	...	(A1)	325	0	0
1720, July	35	...	" Ramchand	...	(C1)	33	0	0
Ditto		...	" Ramchand	...	(P1)	70	0	0
1720, August	11	...	" Sukhdeva ^(a)	...	(A2)	320	8	0
Ditto		...	" Jugel Kisor	...	(P2)	71	0	0
1720, October	24	...	" Kishnram ^(a)	...	(C2)	37	6	0
1720, December 1		...	" Sukhdeva ^(a)	...	(A3)	325	0	0
Ditto		...	" Kirporam	...	(C3)	30	0	0
1721, February 4		...	" Kishnram ^(a)	...	(P3)	70	0	0
Total						1,281	14	0

1721.						Rs.	A.	P.
1721, April	10	...	To Sukhdeva Rai	...	(A1)	325	0	0
Ditto		...	" Nima Rai	...	(C1)	30	0	0
		...		...	(P1)	70	0	0
1721, August	31	...	" Raghu da Rai ^(a)	...	(A2)	320	8	0
1721, August	23	...	" Hathi Government	...	(C2)	37	6	0
Ditto		...	" Ditto	...	(P2)	71	0	0
1721, December 9		...	" Ditto	...	(A3)	325	0	0
1721, December 21		...	" Ditto	...	(C3)	30	0	0
Ditto		...	" Ditto	...	(P3)	70	0	0
Total						1,278	14	0 ^(c)

1722.						Rs.	A.	P.
1722, April	16	...	To Raghu Rai	...	(A1)	325	0	0
Ditto		...	" Nanda Lal	...	(C1)	30	0	0
Ditto		...	" Nanda Lal	...	(P1)	70	0	0
1722, August	20	...	" Hathi Government ^(a)	...	(C2)	37	6	0
Ditto		...	" Ditto	...	(P2)	70	0	0
1722, August	23	...	" Ditto	...	(A3)	320	8	9
1722, December 20		...	" Brij Mallik	...	(A3)	325	0	0
1722, December 31		...	" Hathi Government	...	(C3)	30	0	0
Ditto		...	" Ditto	...	(P3)	70	0	0
Total						1,277	14	9 ^(c)

1723.						Rs.	A.	P.
1723, April	29	...	To Brij Ballav	...	(A1)	325	0	0
Ditto		...	" Kishnram	...	(C1)	30	0	0
Ditto		...	" Ditto	...	(P1)	70	0	0
1723, August	26	...	" Brij Ballav	...	(A2)	320	8	9
1723, September 19		...	" Hathi Government	...	(C2)	37	6	0
Ditto		...	" Ditto	...	(P2)	71	0	0
1724, January 9		...	" Brij Ballav	...	(A3)	325	0	0
Ditto		...	" Ditto	...	(C3)	30	0	0
Ditto		...	" Ditto	...	(P3)	70	0	0
Total						1,278	14	9 ^(c)

1724.						Rs.	A.	P.
1724, May	11	...	To the Revori	...	(A1)	325	0	0
1724, June	8	...	" Brij Ballav	...	(C1)	33	0	0
Ditto		...	" Ditto ^(f)	...	(P1)	70	0	0
1724, August	24	...	" Ditto	...	(A2)	320	8	9
1724, September 7		...	" Ditto	...	(C2)	37	0	0
Ditto		...	" Ditto	...	(P2)	71	0	0
1724, December 14		...	" Ditto	...	(A3)	325	0	0
		...		...	(C3)	30	0	0
		...		...	(P3)	70	0	0
Total						1,281	8	9

(a) In Jitar Khan's ledger.
 (b) In Jitar Khan's ledger. The shortage of Rs. 4-8 was ordered to be paid July 22th 1720. But even then the total rent paid for the year 1719 is Rs. 4-6-0 short of the correct amount.
 (c) The total rent paid is Rs. 2-4-0 short.
 (d) The total rent paid is Rs. 3-8 short.
 (e) The total rent is short by Rs. 2-8.
 (f) In the consultation of June 8, 1724, Brij Ballav is said to have complained that he had been paid Rs. 3 short for four years past. The actual shortage for the years 1719, 1721, 1722, 1723, amounts to Rs. 12-1-6, or if we allow for the overpayment in 1720, Rs. 12-4-4.

1725.

Data in the Conscription
Book—concluded.

						Rs.	A.	P.
1725, April	29	...	To Brij Ballav	...	(A1)	325	0	0
Ditto		...	Ditto	...	(C1)	33	0	0
Ditto		...	Ditto	...	(P1)	70	0	0
1725, August	16	...	To Kishoram	...	(A2)	320	7	0
1725, September 13		...	Ditto	...	(C2)	37	6	0
Ditto		...	Ditto	...	(P2)	71	0	0
1725, December 13		...	To Ram Gopal	...	(A3)	325	0	0
1725, January 9		...	" Sukhdeva Rai	...	(C3)	30	0	0
Ditto		...	Ditto	...	(P3)	70	0	0
Total						1,281	13	0

1726.

1726, April	11	...	To Ram Gopal Rai	...	(A1)	325	0	0
1726, April	25	...	" Sukhdeva Rai	...	(C1)	30	0	0
Ditto		...	Ditto	...	(P1)	70	0	0
1726, August	15	...	" Ramdeo Rai	...	(A2)	320	0	0
1726, August	23	...	" Sukhdeva Rai	...	(C2)	37	0	0
Ditto		...	Ditto	...	(P2)	70	0	0
1726, December 8		...	" Bubi Rai	...	(A3)	325	0	0
1726, December 29		...	" Sukhdeva Rai	...	(C3)	30	0	0
1727, May	8	...	" Jayaram	...	(P3)	70	0	0
Total						1,377	0	0

1727.

1727, May	8	...	To Sukhdeva Rai	...	(A)	325	0	0
		...		...	(C1)	30	0	0
Ditto		...	" Jayaram	...	(P1)	70	0	0
1727, August	21	...	" Sukhdeva Rai	...	(A2)	320	7	9
1727, August	28	...	Ditto	...	(C2)	33	0	0
1727, September 4		...	" Bagerat Rai	...	(P2)	70	0	0
1727, December 28		...	" Sheikh Abdul Cuddus	...	(A3)	325	0	0
Ditto		...	Ditto	...	(C3)	30	0	0
Ditto		...	Ditto	...	(P3)	70	0	0
Total						1,273	7	9

1728.

1728, April	22	...	To Sheikh Abdul Cuddus	...	(A1)	325	0	0
Ditto		...	Ditto ditto	...	(C1)	33	0	0
Ditto		...	Ditto ditto	...	(P1)	70	0	0
1728, August	12	...	To Pir Khan	...	(A2)	320	0	0
Ditto		...	To Pir Khan <i>faujdar</i> of Hughli	...	(C2)	33	0	0
Ditto		...	Ditto ditto	...	(P2)	70	0	0
1728, December 24		...	Ditto ditto	...	(A3)	325	0	0
Ditto		...	Ditto ditto	...	(C3)	30	0	0
Ditto		...	Ditto ditto	...	(P3)	70	0	0
Total						1,278	0	0

1729.

1729, April	28	...	To Kishu Chand	...	(A1)	325	0	0
Ditto		...	" Ramswar	...	(C1)	33	0	0
Ditto		...	Ditto	...	(P1)	70	0	0
1729, August	31	...	" Kishu Chand	...	(A2)	320	0	0
Ditto		...	" Ramswar Rai	...	(C2)	33	0	0
Ditto		...	Ditto	...	(P2)	70	0	0
1729, December 29		...	" Kishu Chand	...	(A3)	325	0	0
Ditto		...	" Ramswar Rai	...	(C3)	30	0	0
Ditto		...	Ditto	...	(P3)	70	0	0
Total						1,276	0	0

1730.

1730, May	4	...	To 'Mandeb'	...	(A1)	325	0	0
1730, May	25	...	" Ramswar Rai	...	(C1)	33	0	0
Ditto		...	Ditto	...	(P1)	70	0	0
1730, August	31	...	" Manodun Singh	...	(A2)	320	0	0
Ditto		...	" Ramswar Rai	...	(C2)	33	0	0
Ditto		...	Ditto	...	(P2)	70	0	0
Total						852	0	0

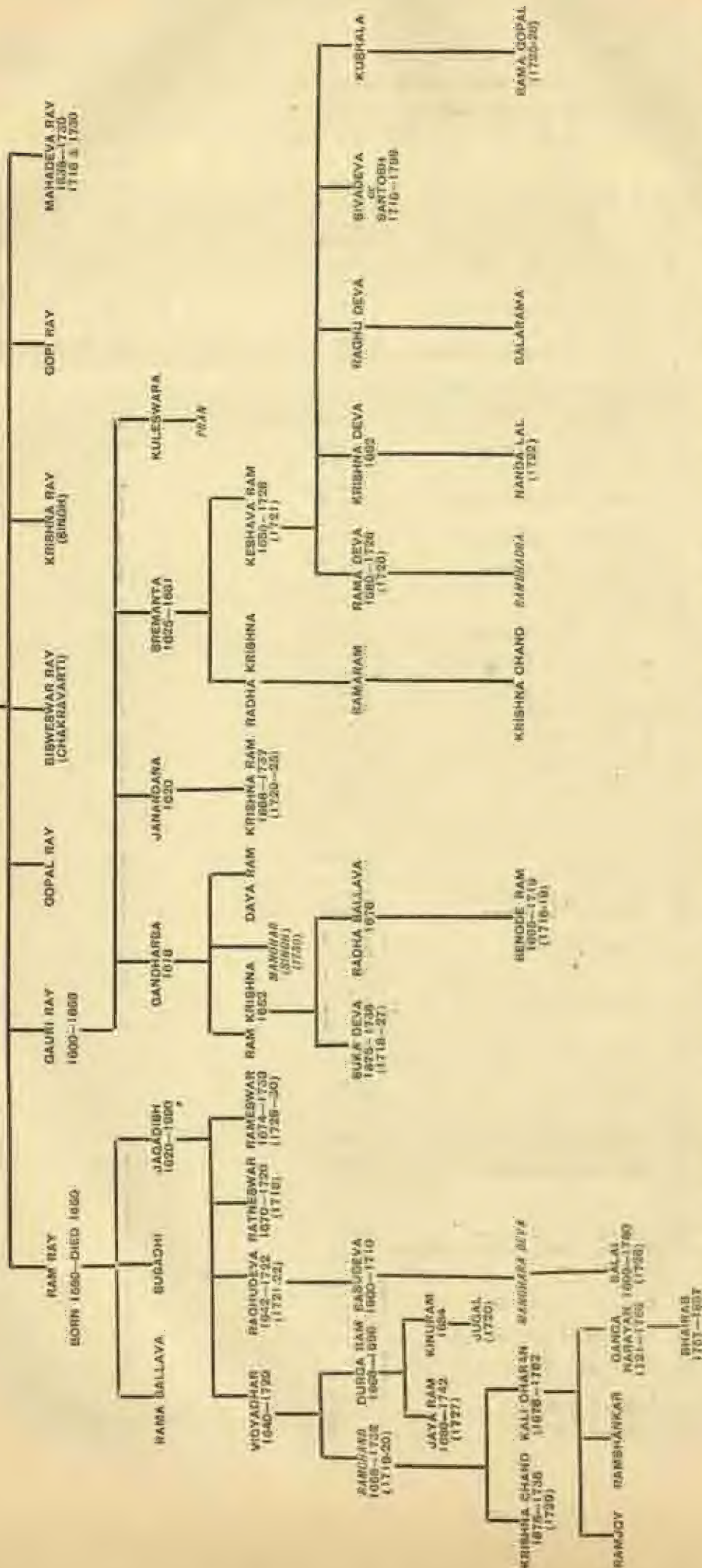
1733(a)

1733, April	30	...	To Hughli Government	...	(A1)	325	0	0
		...		...	(C1)	33	0	0
		...		...	(P1)	70	0	0

(a) Conscription No. 113 of 1733.
N. E.—In the above list, the payments of rent for Amritsar for April, August and December are indicated by A1, A2 and A3, those for Faisal by P1, P2 and P3 and those for Calcutta by C1, C2 and C3. The lists of payments up to 1729 have been kindly furnished by Mr. C. S. Wilson.

LAKSHMI KANTA MAJUMDAR (RAY CHOWDHURY)

BORN	DIED
1670	1649



N.B.—The dates within brackets indicate the years for which fugitives are shown they appear. The dates not within brackets are dates of birth and death roughly stated. The names followed by those of the men who sold Calcutta etc. to the Company. The genealogy is incomplete as all references to the Guianas had not been answered. Has this had to be sent to the Press.

APPENDIX IV.

LIST OF THE 38 VILLAGES THE ENGLISH COMPANY WERE PERMITTED BY THE EMPEROR
TO BUY FROM THE ZAMINDARS IN 1717 (SEE PAGE 22.)

(1) On the Hooghly side of the river—

Name of Town.	Name of Pargana.	Revenue. Rs. a. p.
1. Salies (Salkesh) ...	{ Boro ... Paican ...	61 11 0 216 3 3
2. Harirah (Howrah) ..	{ Boro ... Paican ...	237 5 4 145 13 5
3. Casgundeah (Kasundiah) ...	{ Boro ... Paican ...	129 4 4 0 8 7
4. Bankiesnopoore (Bankristopur) ...	{ Boro ... Paican ...	89 2 3 80 11 0
5. Battr (Bator, modern Bantra) ...	{ Boro ... Paican ...	351 13 0 229 1 9

(2) On the Calcutta side of the river—

6. Dackney Packparra (Dakshin Pakipara) ...	Amirabad ...	145 2 2
7. Balgashia (Belgashia) ...	{ Calcutta ... Paican ...	304 6 9 0 13 10
8. Dackney dand (Dakshindar) ...	{ Calcutta ... Paican ... Amirabad ...	37 8 9 12 0 3 378 0 0
9. Hogulchundey (Hogulkuria) ...	Paican ...	137 11 3
10. Ultadang (Ultadinghi) ...	{ Calcutta ... Paican ...	194 1 6 120 12 9
11. Simillah (Simla) ...	Manpoor ...	81 15 5
12. Macond (Makonda) ...	Manpoor ...	118 12 8
13. Comarparrah (Kamarpara) ...	Calcutta ...	63 10 9
14. Cancegashia (Kankurgachhi) ...	{ Paican ... Nadiah ...	37 7 0 170 15 8
15. Bagmarrey (Bagmari) ...	Calcutta ...	49 7 8
16. Arcooly (Arkuli) ...	Manpoor ...	22 11 9
17. Miraspoor (Mirapur) ...	{ Calcutta ... Paican ...	57 15 9 115 13 9
18. Sealdah (Sealdah) ...	Calcutta ...	118 9 10
19. Coolish (Kulish) ...	{ Calcutta ... Paican ...	127 6 8 445 3 9
20. Tangarah (Tengra) ...	{ Calcutta ... Paican ...	62 11 6 166 1 9
21. Sundah (Surah) ...	{ Calcutta ... Paican ...	62 0 4 586 11 3
22. Bad Sundah (Behar Surah) ...	Calcutta ...	40 8 0
23. Shakhparra (Shakhpara) ...	Calcutta ...	41 6 6
24. Doland (Dalanda) ...	{ Calcutta ... Paican ...	111 6 8 185 1 0
25. Bergey (Birji) ...	{ Calcutta ... Paican ... Nadiah ... Amirabad ...	22 6 2 213 10 1 1 14 0 43 13 2
26. Tiltola (Tiljula) ...	{ Calcutta ... Paican ...	31 11 0 175 3 6
27. Topash (Topais) ...	{ Calcutta ... Paican ...	72 8 0 217 2 9
28. Sappamey (Sappachhi) ...	Calcutta ...	211 3 0
29. Chobogah (Chowbagah) ...	Calcutta ...	37 4 0
30. Cherangy (Chowringhee) ...	{ Calcutta ... Paican ...	14 13 5 74 14 0
31. Colimba (Colinga) ...	{ Calcutta ... Paican ...	370 3 3 113 4 10
32. Goborah (Goira) ...	Paican ...	100 1 6
33. Badolney dand (Bahir Dakshin darve) ...	Paican ...	125 6 4
34. Siampur (Serampore) ...	{ Calcutta ... Paican ... Amirabad ...	11 7 3 95 3 7 20 2 0
35. Jola Colimba (Jala Colinga) ...	Calcutta ...	174 3 9
36. Gondalparah (Gondolpara) ...	{ Calcutta ... Paican ...	31 9 2 10 4 4
37. Himsley (Entally) ...	{ Calcutta ... Paican ...	61 9 10 167 3 3
38. Chittipoor (Chitpur) ...	Amirabad ...	552 2 0

APPENDIX V.

- (1) *A translation of the Sunnud for the free tenure of the town of Calcutta, &c., to the Hon'ble East India Company, given under the seal of the Nawab Dowla Allauddin Mir Mahomed Sadoor, Khan Bahadur Asud Jung, Diwan of the Subah of Bengal.*

To the Mutsuddies for affairs for the time being and to come, and amindars, and chowdries and talukdars, and kammogoes of the manza of Govindapur, &c., in the districts of the pargana of Calcutta, belonging to the Paradise of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, be it known that in consequence of the Ferd Sawal signed by the Glory of the Nobility and Administration Sujah-ul-Mulk Hossain-o-Dowla Mir Mahomed Jafir, Khan Bahadur, Mohabut Jung, Nazim of Subah, and the Ferd Huckeeht and Muchiles signed conformably thereto, the forms of which are herein fully set forth, the rents of the aforesaid manza, &c., which adjoin to the factory of the noblest of merchants, the English Company, amounting to eight thousand eight hundred and thirty-six rupees and something more from the first of Rubbee Usanee to eight thousand eight hundred and thirty-six rupees and something more from the first of Rubbee Usanee 5 Tun according to the endorsement, are forgiven to the end that they provide for the defence of their factory and the safeguard of the seaports herewith. It is their (the Mutsuddies, &c.) duty to desist from all claims for the rents, nor in any way, nor by any means oppress or disturb them. In this particular be they punctual.

Dated as above.

Let the endorsement be wrote, (a)

Particulars of the endorsement.

In consequence of the Ferd Sawal signed by the Glory of the Nobility and Administration Sujah-ul-Mulk Hossain-o-Dowla Mir Mahomed Jafir, Khan Bahadur, Mohabut Jung, Nazim of Subah, and the Ferd Huckeeht and Muchiles signed conformably thereto, the forms of which are herein fully set forth, the rents of the manza of Govindapur, &c., in the districts of the pargana of Calcutta, &c., belonging to the Paradise of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, and dependent on Khalsa Shereefs and the Jagheer of the Sircar which adjoin to the factory of the noblest of merchants, the English Company, amounting to eight thousand eight hundred and thirty-six rupees and something more from the latter,† session of Oodaul in the year (1164) eleven hundred and sixty-four of the Bengal era are forgiven the noblest of merchants aforesaid.

Manzas and mahals, 23½.

Manza, mahals, 20½.

2 Markets.

Amount according to the Ferd signed by the Kamungoes of the Subah.

Form of the sign manual.

Be the Sunnud granted. Form of the Ferd Sawal. The noblest of merchants, the English Company, represent that the factory for carrying on their trade in the pargana of Calcutta lying near the sea and being liable to continual alarms and irruptions from the enemy, for their defence they have made a trench of water round their factory and left an esplanade on all sides at the distance of a cannon shot, and that manza of Govindapur, &c., in the district of pargana of Calcutta, &c., of the Sircar Santgaum, belonging to the Paradise of Nations the Subah of Bengala, dependent on the Khalsa Shereefs and Jagheer of the Sircar adjoining thereto; they request that a Sunnud exempting them from the payment of the rents proof be granted them. In this particular what are your commands.

Manzas and mahals, 23½.

Manzas, 20½.

Mahals (2 markets), 2(c)

- (2) *A translation of the Sunnud for the zamindari of the Hon'ble East India Company's lands, given under the seal of the Nawab Allauddin Dowlah Mir Mahomed Sadoor, Khan Bahadur Asud Jung, Diwan of the Subah of Bengal.*

To the Mutsuddies for affairs for the time being and to come, and chowdries and kammogoes and inhabitants, and husbandmen of the kismat parganas of Calcutta, &c., of the Sircar Santgaum, &c., belonging to the Paradise of Nations. The Subah of Bengala, be it known that in consequence of the Ferd Sawal signed by the Glory of the Nobility and Administration, Sujah-ul-Mulk Hossain-o-Dowla Mir Mahomed Jafir, Khan Bahadur, Mohabut Jung, Nazim of the Subah, and the Ferd Huckeeht and Muchiles signed conformably thereto, the terms of which are therein fully set forth, the office of the zamindari of the parganas above written in consideration of the sum of Rs. 20,101 (twenty thousand one hundred and one rupees) present, &c., to the Imperial Sircar according to the endorsement, from the month of Pous (an 1164) in the year eleven hundred and sixty-four of the Bengal era, is conferred upon the noblest of merchants—the English Company—to the end that they attend to the rites and customs thereof as is fitting, nor in the least circumstance neglect or withhold the vigilance and care due thereto; that they deliver into the Treasury in the proper times the due rents of the Sircar; that they behave in such a manner to the inhabitants and lower sort of people that by their good management the said parganas may flourish and increase; that they suffer no robbers, nor house-breakers to remain within their districts, and take such care of the King's highways that the travellers and passengers may pass and repass without fear and molestation; that (which God forbid) if the effects of any person be plundered or stolen, they discover and produce the plunderers and thieves, together with the goods, and deliver the goods to the owners, and the criminals to condign punishment, or else that they themselves be responsible for the said goods; that they take special care that no one be guilty of any crime or drunkenness within the limits of their zamindari; that after the expiration of the year they take a discharge according to custom, and that they deliver the accounts of their zamindari, agreeable to the stated forms, every year into the durbar of their dewan, and that they refrain from demanding the articles forbidden by the Imperial Court (the asylum of the world).†

It is their (the Mutsuddies, &c.) duty to look upon the said Company as the established and lawful zamindar of these places, and whatsoever appertains or is annexed to that office is their right. In this particular be they strictly punctual. Dated the first of Rubbee Usanee in the third sun of the reign.

(a) This is wrote by the Roy-ayan.

(b) In the original Persian script.

(c) The Company further pledged themselves not to allow of any robbery, house-breaking or drunkenness within their bounds.

APPENDIX VI.

The legal title of the Company in Calcutta and the 24-Parganas, by Sir William Hunter and by Mr. Millett.

"Mir Jafar," says Sir William, "only intended to give the Company the jurisdiction of landholders and the grant was a mere *parwana* of a somewhat informal character. In the following year the Company, with a view to securing the full proprietary right, obtained a *diwani sanad* under the seal and signature of the Emperor's Chief Revenue Officer (Diwan) Mir Muhammad Sadik. This document was perfectly regular; it particularized the lands held under it, and fixed their assessment at Rs. 2,22,958 according to the *Asl Jama Tawari* or original Crown rent, as fixed for the Governorship of Bengal by Mir Jafar Murshid Kuli Khan in A. D. 1722. In order, however, to give their tenure additional permanence, the Company in 1765 obtained a *Firman*, or Letters Patent, direct from the Emperor himself, confirming the grant of the 24-Parganas *zamindari* made by the Nawab Mir Jafar and the Diwan Mir Muhammad Sadik. The Emperor's deed, however, went further, and converted the grant into an *atlamgha*, which gave a perpetual heritable jurisdiction over the land. This rested in the Company the same administrative rights in the 24-Parganas as over the territories of Bardwan and Chittagong, first ceded in 1760, and which, together with the Revenue Administration (Diwani) of all Lower Bengal, were finally, in that year, 1763, transferred for once to the Company.

"The essential legal object of these various charters was to confer upon the Company the *Akaidmat* or official duties and powers of an Indian *zamindar*, over the 24-Parganas. But it must be borne in mind that the grants did not confer the full proprietary lordship in the soil. This difficulty, however, had in one sense been obviated on the 13th July 1769 by a *jagir sanad* granted to Lord Clive for services rendered to the Delhi Emperor, especially in aiding in the suppression of a rebellion headed by the Emperor's eldest son, Shah Alam. By this deed, all the royalties, dues, and rents collected by the Company as official landholder, and paid by it into the public treasury of the Muhammadan Government, were made over to Lord Clive, thus placing the Company somewhat in a state of dependence to their own servant. This deed of gift passed under the seal of the Emperor, and Lord Clive was enrolled among the nobility (*Maneshdars* and *Umras*) of the Delhi Emperor, with the title of *Shahbazari*, Panj Hazar Sawar or Commander of six thousand (persons) and five thousand horse. Lord Clive's claims to the property as feudal suzerain were contested in England in 1764, and on the 23rd June 1765, when he returned to Bengal, a new deed was issued, confirming the unconditional *jagir* to Lord Clive for ten years with reversion afterwards to the Company in perpetuity, under similar powers to the Company all the lands in the 24-Parganas as a perpetual property, based upon a *jagir* grant. The sum of Rs. 2,22,958, the amount at which the land was assessed when first made over to the Company in 1767, was paid to Lord Clive from 1765, until his death in 1774, when the whole proprietary right in the land and revenues reverted to the Company.

"The history of our acquisition of the port and city of Calcutta is totally distinct from the foregoing. The Company obtained possession of certain villages corresponding to the existing site of Calcutta in return for a present of Rs. 15,000 to the son of Aurangzeb in 1698. In 1717, during the reign of Farukhsiyar, it acquired a more formal grant, but only in the nature of a *talukdari* or copy-hold tenure, and as such subject to a yearly rental. The fixed rental which the Company paid to the Muhammadan officers for the township of Calcutta (under the description of Calcutta, Sutanuti, Govindpur) was Rs. 8,536.00 while the *kifayat* or surplus revenue over and above the fixed rental which the Company realized from the *talukdars* amounted to Rs. 98,295. The gross revenue of the town of Calcutta before 1757 amounted to Rs. 1,07,181. In December 1757 or 1758 (for Mr. J. Grant gives both years) the Company finally obtained a *lakhtaraj* or rent-free grant under the Royal authority (Fifth Report pages 487-93 Madras reprint)."

"Previous to February 1767" says Millett "the Company held the villages of Sutanuti, Calcutta and Govindpur as *zamindars* paying Rs. 1,495-5.00 annual Revenue to the Government, that by the Treaty of the above date they obtained possession of the other villages within the Maharratta Ditch, paying for the whole *zamindari* of Calcutta a Revenue of Rs. 8,836, and that by the Treaty of June 1767, they obtained a *Sanad* exempting them from the payment of the said Revenue from the beginning of December 1758, that it might be applied to providing for the defence of their Factory.

It has also been seen that the sum of Rs. 8 per Bighah which the Company as *zamindar*, levied from their under-tenants, was the maximum rent allowed to be taken by the Laws of the Empire.

I may here take occasion to mention, that at the present day, when Government lands in Calcutta are sold, the usual rent of seven Rs. 3, or company's Rs. 8-3-3 is reserved, but when they are let only they are let to the highest bidder, sometimes as high as Rs. 60 per *cottah* or Rs. 720 per Bighah per annum.

Since the company obtained the Government of the country they stand as respects Calcutta in the two-fold relation of *zamindar* and Governor, and are entitled both to the *zamindar's* and the Governor's share of the produce of the land.

The same is the case in what are called "*Khas Mohals*" or estates that have become the property of Government either from failure of heirs or by purchase.

In many *zamindaris* there are under-tenures which are held at a fixed rent and are heritable and transferable; perpetual leases are also granted for the purpose of building, etc.

It has been seen that in Mr. Holwell's time there were lands held rent-free in Sutanuti, Calcutta and Govindpur.

A Register of *lakhtaraj* holdings in Calcutta was prepared by the Collector in 1796, but having been returned by the Board of Revenue^(a) to that officer for correction in February 1800, no further trace of it is to be found.

Where the property in the soil (in Calcutta) has been actually sold by the Company, the Rs. 3 per Bighah (which the purchaser is still liable to pay for ground rent) must be considered as the Revenue paid to Government by the proprietor of the land so purchased.

The Common or common or waste lands of Calcutta were the absolute property of the Company and were sold, granted, or let to applicants for building or other purposes.

(a) This of course is an error. The rental for the three mohals was only Rs. 1501-4-8 prior to 1717. In February of that year it was fixed at 8,536 for the whole of the villages made over to the English by treaty.

(b) The rental fixed was, Rs. 231-3-6 according to Wilson.

(c) Letter from Hunter Board of Revenue to Government of Bengal, dated 26th June 1842.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SIEGE AND THE NEW FORT.

It was the security guaranteed by the strong British Fort that was responsible for attracting a very large population to Calcutta in 1742 when the Mahrattas invaded Bengal. "During the invasion of the Mahrattas," says Stewart, "crowds of the inhabitants of the country on the western side of the river crossed over to Calcutta, and implored the protection of the English, who, in consequence of the general alarm, obtained permission from Ali Verdi Khan to dig an entrenchment round the territory. This work, had it been completed, would have extended seven miles. In six months three miles of it were finished, when the inhabitants, finding that the Mahrattas did not approach Calcutta, desisted from the works." This originated the Mahratta Ditch. It is clearly shown in Upjohn's "Plan of the Territory of Calcutta as marked out in the year 1742." Except for the detour at Halsibagan, to enclose the garden houses of Govindaram Mitter, the "black zamindar," and of Omichand, the Sikh millionaire and salt broker of the Company, it follows the Circular Road from Perrin's Point, at the north-western extremity of Sutanuti where the Chitpur creek meets the river, down to a spot near the present Entally corner. Hindu tradition has it that the ditch existed also on the south of Govindapur up to the edge of the river, and that the big open drain on the town side of the Bhabanipur bridge over Tolly's nullah, which still goes by the name of the Mahratta Ditch, is a remnant of it, and further that the drain across the maidan through which tidal water used to reach this drain, marks its site on the south of Govindapur. It is, however, certain that the southern portion, if at all made, was not a continuation of the ditch that enclosed the northern and eastern sides of the town and stopped much above the Park Street junction. Possibly the native inhabitants began to dig the southern section of the ditch during the second Mahratta scare in 1747, but the two sections had not met when the work was discontinued.

The belief of the people in the security afforded by the English Fort was, however, destined to be rudely shaken. The Fort, which was in the earlier years of British occupation the cause of an extraordinary increase of the Company's power and influence, was, in a few years, to have its weakness demonstrated with terrible reality. In 1756 Nawab Siraj-ud-Dowla sacked Calcutta and took the Fort by storm. The siege and its causes, the flight of Governor Drake, the heroic behaviour of Holwell during the attack of the *Moors*—as the Musalmans were called—, the tragedy of the Black Hole, the re-conquest of the settlement by Clive and Watson in January 1757; the battle of Plassey, the defeat of Siraj-ud-Dowla, and the march of events following which terminated with the installation of Mir Jaffer by the English as Nawab, are matters of history too well-known to need recapitulation, but a few of the more important episodes of the siege may be noted here.

Siraj-ud-Dowla, according to Stewart, placed himself at the head of his troops and marched towards Purneah, but upon his arrival at Rajmahal he was diverted from his purpose both by letters received from Calcutta respecting the refusal of the English to deliver up Kishenbullub, the son of Rajbullub, who some months before had left Dacca with his family and property, and had taken refuge at Calcutta, and also by the news that the English were adding to the fortification of Fort William, and increasing the strength of the garrison. When the English saw that the siege of Calcutta by the Nawab's army was inevitable, and that they had no resource beyond their own exertions, they armed all the Europeans, native Portuguese, and Armenians, and took into their service 1,500 Hindu matchlock-men. They also laid in a store of grain and other provisions, and added such works for their defence as the shortness of the time would admit.^(a)

The early days of the week, beginning with Monday, June 14th, were, according to Hyde, occupied at Fort William, with military preparations.

(a) Stewart's History of Bengal.

Among these was the enrolment of the Company's Civilians, the European inhabitants, and other Christians, as a Volunteer Militia, in which even Mapletoft, the chaplain, was commissioned as a 'Captain Lieutenant.' Holwell, in his tracts, thus speaks of him and some of his brother officers:—

The Reverend Mr. Mapletoft, Captain Lieutenant, Captain Henry Wedderburn, Lieutenant of the First Company, and Ensigns Summer and Charles Douglas, all of them gentlemen who had failed in no part of duty, either as officers or soldiers, in the defence of the place.

On Wednesday, the 16th, the enemy first appeared at Chitpore, but the battery from the Bagbazar Redoubt dispersed them, and they fell back upon Dum-Dam. On Thursday the English burnt the bazars to the front and south of the Fort. On Friday, the 18th, the enemy reappeared in great force all round the town. The English outposts were speedily driven in, but not without a hard fight at the south-eastern corner of the great tank near the present British Indian Street still called *Ranimudie gully* from its original name of *Ranamatta gully*^(*) signifying a 'frenzied fight.' Upon this, the 1,500 Hindu matchlock-men and other native troops in the English service deserted, whilst the Portuguese and other inhabitants of the town, who had been injudiciously admitted into the Fort, caused great confusion and uproar. The 100 Armenians were, according to Holwell, worthless, none of them being fit to handle a gun.

The Church and all adjacent buildings were abandoned, and the survivors of the Christian community shut themselves up within the Fort. This gave the 'Moors' their opportunity. They at once occupied the church and the buildings that dominated the Fort, and mounted their heavy guns on the roofs of the buildings. The case of the besieged was found to be now nearly desperate, and the Council of War that afternoon ordered the embarkation of the English women on board the *Dodaly* and other ships then lying off the Fort. "Among the ladies," says Hyde "whom reluctance to quit their husbands kept ashore until the latest moment, were Mrs. Roger Drake, wife of the Governor, Mrs. Mapletoft, Mrs. Coales, wife of a civil servant and militia ensign, and Mrs. Wedderburn, wife of the gallant captain of that name. It was about 11 o'clock at night when Holwell himself persuaded these devoted ladies to take refuge with their young children on board the *Diligence*, a ship probably of his own; at any rate it was, as he says, under his direction. Shortly afterwards he sent a French officer, Monsieur le Beaume, and three native servants to attend on and protect them. All that night the preparations for meeting the now inevitable storming of the Fort went on. Daybreak of the Saturday saw Mapletoft working as a coolie, native labour being now quite unprocureable." Holwell says:—

Early on the morning of the 19th, the President, Mr. Mackett, the Reverend Mr. Mapletoft, myself and others, were employed in cutting open the bales of cotton, and filling it in bags, to carry upon the parapets.

"This Mr. Mackett had left his wife dangerously ill on board the *Dodaly* the previous night. She had striven to detain him, but he had resisted all entreaties, and hastened back to the defence of the Fort. Now, however, when the works in hand were somehow finished, he begged leave to board the *Dodaly* for five minutes to see his wife. Thereupon leave was given to him and to other gentlemen similarly situated to visit their wives and children, and deposit in their care their papers and valuables. Mapletoft took advantage of this reasonable and humane permission, and pushed off to the *Diligence*. These gentlemen had not the slightest idea of what was about to happen. Mapletoft cannot have been long with his wife and children before, at about 10 or 11 o'clock, two boats were seen hastily making for the *Dodaly*, and in them were Governor Drake and the senior commandant and other gentlemen shamefully deserting their charge, their countrymen, and the Fort. These men protested that the Fort was abandoned and the rout general, and by their order every ship, vessel, and boat lying off the Fort immediately cast off her moorings, and dropped down to a safe distance with the ebbing tide.

(*) In Upjohn's map, the street is shown as *Ranamadda lane*.

"Thus weakened and disheartened, all hope of retreat being cut off, the only ship left higher up the river went aground and was useless; the little garrison, now under the command of Holwell, nevertheless continued the defence in the most valiant manner. By noon on the Sunday, 20th June, there were but 150 men left, and 50 of these were wounded. By 6 o'clock that evening the Nawab was in possession of Fort William."^(a)

"On the 21st of Ramzan," says Stewart, "the Nawab's troops recommenced their attack with fresh vigour, and whilst some of the garrison exposed themselves with undoubted resolution, others were entreating Mr. Holwell to capitulate, who, to calm the minds of those who desponded, threw a letter from the rampart written by Omichand, a Hindoo merchant of consequence whom the English had, together with Kishenbullab, detained as prisoners on the approach of the Nawab's army, addressed to Manikehand, the Fauzdar of Hooghly, who commanded a body of troops before the Fort, requesting him to intercede with the Nawab to cease hostilities as the English were ready to obey his commands, and only persisted in defending the Fort to preserve their lives and honour. The letter was immediately taken up, but for many hours no answer was returned, whilst the enemy continued to push on the attack with vigour. At four o'clock in the evening a person was observed advancing with another from the south-east bastion. A parley ensued, during which many of the Nawab's troops approached the walls of the Fort and endeavoured to escalate it; at the same time some of the soldiers of the garrison, having broken the arrack cellars, had intoxicated themselves, and forced open the gate next the riverside with an intention of seizing on whatever boats they could find, and of proceeding to the ships. Just as they opened the gate, a party of the enemy, who had also got on that side, met them, and at once rushed into the Fort; and their party at the same moment mounted the walls of the warehouses. In this scene of confusion no resistance was made, and the English having surrendered their arms, the Nawab's troops refrained from bloodshed.

"The place might have made a long defence against such an enemy had not the houses of the principal Europeans and the church overlooked and commanded the Fort."

On the surrender of the Fort the Nawab's chief concern was to find out and obtain possession of the English treasure. The amount produced before him belied all his expectations and he was considerably vexed. But after a close, though infructuous, examination of Holwell and a few others on the subject, he left for his own tent, and it is hardly probable that he troubled himself to enquire what happened during the night.

When night came on, 146 prisoners^(b) were, through the ignorance and inhumanity of the guard placed over them, forced into a small room, since known as the Black Hole, 'a cube of 18 feet' (18 ft. x 14 ft. by measurement) with two small grated windows only. The room was situated on the south of the eastern gate of the Fort and served as a lock-up for recalcitrant soldiers. The indescribable agony of their sufferings during the night can only be imagined by those who have experienced a sultry June night in Calcutta. Only 23 are said by Holwell to have come out alive the next morning. Of those that died in the Black Hole, the following names were inscribed by Holwell on a monument that was erected by him in front of it:—

Edward Eyre, Esq., William Baillie, Esq., the Revd. Jervas Bellamy, Messrs. Jenks, Reeverly, Law, Coates, Nalicoourt, Jebb, Toriano, E. Page, S. Page, Grub, Street, Harod, P. Johnstone, Ballard, N. Drake, Curse, Knapton, Gosling, Dod, Dalrymple, Captains Clayton, Buchanan, Wetherington, Lieutenants Bishop, Hays, Blagg, Simpson, J. Bellamy, Ensigns Paccard, Scott, Hastings, C. Wedderburn, Dumbleton, Sea Captains Hunt, Osburn, Parnel, Messrs. Cadol and Atkinson.

The fugitives from Calcutta sought refuge about thirty miles down the river near the "despicable village" of Fulta. There they were forced to linger for some six months, living partly on board the shipping and partly

(a) Hyde's Parochial Annals.

(b) The accuracy of this number, which is reported by Holwell, has been doubted by some modern writers in view of the actual dimensions of the room.

in tents and huts ashore. Surgeon Ives of H. M. S. *Kent*, who saw them there the next December, says:—

"They were crowded together in the most wretched habitations, clad in the meanest apparel, and for almost five months had been surrounded by sickness and disease, which made strange havoc among them."

There, at the risk, it is said, of his own life, Nabakissen Dey, afterwards Maharaja Nabakissen, with the help of a few native traders, supplied them with food and provisions.

After the siege, the name of Calcutta disappeared from history for a time. The Nawab dubbed the place Alinagar, and the seat of his principal agent three miles to the south of the Fort was called Alipore. In January 1758 Alinagar was again changed into Calcutta^(a) by a subsequent *sanad* of Mir Jaffer, but the name of Alipore remains unchanged to this day. There is an erroneous impression amongst many a student of history that the sack of Calcutta in 1756 resulted in the complete destruction of the Fort and of the European quarter of the town. Such was really not the case. The Engineer of the Fort, the Master Attendant and the Surveyor jointly made a valuation of the Company's buildings^(b) in January 1757. The valuation was as follows:—

The fort and its interior buildings Rs. 1,20,000, the hospital 12,000, the stables Rs. 4,000, the jail Rs. 7,000, the saltpetre godowns Rs. 7,000, the cutchery Rs. 1,500, the cutwal-prison Rs. 1,000, two bridges Rs. 2,000, chintz-printers' houses Rs. 6,000, elephant sheds Rs. 1,500, the magazine Rs. 6,925, dockhead and buildings Rs. 7,000, new godowns Rs. 25,000 and the Redoubt at Bagbazar Rs. 21,000.

To show his gratitude for his elevation to the Subah, Mir Jaffer made generous gifts to his benefactor Clive and the English Company. Not only did he give them the zamindari of the 24-Parganas and make the town of Calcutta, with a few of its adjacent mauzas, a free gift to the Company, but he also paid one crore and seventy lakhs of rupees as restitution money for the sack of Calcutta by Siraj-ud-Dowla. The restitution money went largely into the pockets of the European inhabitants of Calcutta, including the Company's servants who had sustained damages during the siege. As regards the native Indians, those of them that had not joined the Nawab, or shown any passive hostility to the English, had such of their property and houses restored to them as remained, or could be found, after the siege. They were, however, at first declared disentitled to any share of the money, because they had failed to take part in the defence of the town, most of them having left their homes and run away on the approach of the Nawab's forces. Omichand, who had been very friendly to Manickchand, Governor of Hooghly, was under a cloud during the siege, as he was suspected of having secretly taken a part in inviting the Nawab to the attack. His properties were attached, but after the siege was over they were released for want of any tangible evidence against him. A commission was soon appointed to apportion a part of the balance of the restitution money amongst the native sufferers, and although some of the Commissioners, notably Sobharam Bysack and Govindaram Mittra paid themselves the lion's share of it, and thereby created much heartburning, it was felt that the fault did not lie with the Company, who had wished to deal squarely with all classes of the residents.^(c)

It was this fair treatment of the arch conspirator, as Omichand was supposed to be, and of other influential native inhabitants, that led the Indian residents to return to the town in 1758. With a part of the restitution money Govindapur was cleared of its native residents, who were given land in exchange for their own in different parts of the town, (chiefly Taltolla, Subahbazar, and Kumartooly), and the foundation of the present Fort was laid on a grand scale. At first it was intended to have the Fort near the site of the present Bank of Bengal, but experience had shown the weakness of a fort in the vicinity of residential buildings, and it was accordingly

(a) Consultation No. 274, letter to the Court of Directors.

(b) Consultation No. 423, January 1757 (*Long's Selections*).

(c) The allotment made by the Hindu Commissioners to themselves and their relatives is appended. See page 46.

removed to its present site, which was then surrounded by a tiger jungle that could easily be cut down.

It would appear that a large number of huts were included within the walls of the Fort, and the old hât and bazar, though their old places knew them no more, were allowed to be held near the Fort if not within its precincts.

The construction of the Fort cost no less than two millions sterling, and took several years to complete. In 1849, according to Major Ralph Smith, it mounted 619 guns, had a powder magazine big enough to contain 5,100 barrels of powder of 100 lbs. each, an arsenal containing 40 to 50 thousand stands of arms, besides pistols and swords. There were three to four thousand pieces of iron and brass ordnance of various calibres, with shot and shell in proportion, amounting to nearly two million rounds, exclusive of case and grapeshot. It was then capable of containing 15,000 men. The Glacis and the Esplanade separated the Fort from the town as they still do. The garrison then consisted of one European regiment and a detachment of native infantry, which was relieved monthly from Barrackpore. The military area subject to its jurisdiction has changed but little, but the buildings and arrangements have been steadily improved since 1857.

Abstract of the thirteen Native Commissioners' Restitution Money Account. ^(a)

NAMES.	Demand.		Deduction.	
	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
1. Gobindram and Rogoometre (Govindaram and Raghu Mitra) ...	4,12,880	5 0	37,680	5 0
2. Soberam Bysack (Sobharan Basak) ...	4,41,378	9 7	66,278	9 7
3. Ally Boys (Ali (Jan) Bai) ...	34,457	0 0	17,457	0 0
4. Ratto Sircar (Ratoo (Ratan) Sarkar) ...	1,80,322	8 0	40,322	8 0
5. Sookdeb Mullick (Sukadeva Mallika) ...	50,942	8 0	10,942	8 0
6. Nian Mullick (Nayan (Uhand) Mallika) ...	43,922	0 0	5,922	0 0
7. Dharan Bose (Dayaram Basu) ...	5,153	0 0	1,153	14 6
8. Nilmony (Nilmani) ...	28,113	0 0	10,113	14 0
9. Harikissen Tagoor (Harekrishna Thakur) ...	13,788	2 0	3,788	2 0
10. Durgaram Datt (Durgaram Datta) ...	647	0 0	100	0 0
11. Ramantose (Ramantosh) ...	6,410	0 0	910	3 0
12. Mahmud Saddock (Muhammad Sadek) ...	2,710	0 0	1	0 0
13. Ayin Neady (Ainuddin) ...	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total ...	12,30,429	11 7	1,34,650	9 1
Deduction about 16 per cent. ...	.....	.....	.....	.....

Names of those said to be favoured on account of their connection with the Native Commissioners. ^(b)

NAMES.	Demands.		Deductions.		Allied to or dependent on.
	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	
Chaiten Das (Chaiten Dha) ...	1,702	8 0	302	0 0	To Ratto Sircar.
Duloh Lucky (Durlav Lakshmi) ...	8,233	11 0	1,233	11 0	To Soberam Bysack.
Casnat Nurry ...					
Charu Bysack (? Charan Basak) ...	6,983	4 0	1,983	4 0	A cooly belonging to Mittra.
Onoy Basu (Karo (Bam) Biswas) ...	1,517	1 0	317	1 0	A writer to the Committee.
Gones Bose (Gonosh Bose) ...	7,313	8 0	1,313	8 0	To Mittra, but died in 1747.
Ramdeb Mittra (Ramadeva Mittra) ...	2,850	4 0	350	4 0	Ditto, but died four years.
Sookdeb Mittra (Sukadeva Mittra) ...	3,152	4 0	652	4 0	Mistress to Mittra.
Rutton (Ratan) ...	2,419	10 0	419	10 0	Ditto.
Lallu (Lallu) ...	3,577	12 0	577	12 0	Ditto.
Muttu Bewah (Mati Bewah) ...	4,215	12 0	1,015	12 0	Mistress to Soberam Bysack.
Rajaram Palit (Rajarama Palit) ...	2,091	0 0	319	0 0	On Mittra.
Durgaram, Binda, Ganga (Durgaram, Binda, Ganga) ...	532	15 0	132	15 0	Ditto.
Durgaram Sorua ...	710	4 0	160	4 0	Ditto.
Lall Money Chandu (Nilmoni Chandu) ...	290	8 0	90	8 0	Ditto.
Hariram Ghose (Harizama Ghosh) ...	640	0 0	96	0 0	Writer to the Committee.
Ram Charan Sircar (Rama Charan Sarkar) ...	319	10 0	.....	.....	To Mittra.
Lucktoond Ghose (Lakshmi Kanta Ghosh) ...	1,967	5 0	467	5 0	To Ratto Sircar.
Nandoo Dohak (Nayandar Dhopa) ...	2,513	2 0	513	2 0	On Soberam Bysack.
Ganga Datt Patra (Gangadatta Patra) ...	12,395	4 0	2,895	4 0	To Ratto Sircar.
Simlabund and Fulchund (Brindaban and Fulchand) ...	4,056	6 0	1,056	6 0	To Soberam Bysack.
Gopee Charu Bysack (Gopi Charana (Molon ?) Basak) ...	1,421	0 0	421	0 0	On Mittra.
Ramkissore Chuckerbutty (Ramakishora Chakravarti) ...	876	12 0	176	12 0	To Nilmony.
Radeond Ray (Radhakanta Ray) ...	1,140	4 0	240	4 0	To Ramantose.
Ramunoor Sircar (Ramashankara Sarkar) ...	2,198	4 0	698	4 0	To Nilmony.
Berjokessore Sirononi (Brajkishora Shironani) ...	Total	73,453	12 0	15,732	10 0

N.B.—Many others of this class might be taken from the general list.

(a) Consultation No. 280, 16th September 1750.

(b) Consultation No. 323, 19th September 1754.

CHAPTER VIII.

TOWN AND SUBURBS.

In spite of the word 'town' being applied in the earlier years of British occupation to the component mauzas of the settlement and its environs, we know that, as a matter of fact, except a small area round the park and factory, none of these deserved that name.

"The first English settlement at Sutanuti," says Wilson, "seems to have consisted of mud and straw hovels with a few masonry buildings. Its chief defence was the flotilla of boats lying in the river. The renewed settlement established by Charnock in 1690 was of the same nature, but as time went on, the number of masonry buildings increased."

As we have already seen, the only conspicuous masonry building Charnock acquired was the outchery of the Jagirdar. With the construction of the fort at its site, and the reclamation of the tank, the Portuguese and Armenian inhabitants, together with the few Dutch and Danes that joined them in Calcutta during the war with the French, clustered round the factory, and the Burrabazar (already called the Great Bazar) had every available space within its boundaries taken up by the houses and shops of the native traders. In 1706 only 248 bighas of land were, we are told,^(a) occupied with dwellings in Town Calcutta, and 364 bighas were shortly to be utilised for houses, although the Great Bazar to its immediate north was already most populous, having 400 bighas built over out of its entire area of 488 bighas.

Surrounding this small town with the fort and its appurtenances as the most conspicuous building, lay 1,470 bighas of land in "Dhee Calcutta," partly cultivated and partly waste. On the north of this *dhi* was Sutanuti, already containing 134 bighas of inhabited land, with 1,558 bighas under jungle and cultivation. To the south of *dhi* Calcutta stood Govindapur high on the river bank, with only 57 bighas, out of a total area of 1,178 bighas, covered by human habitations, most of the rest being dense jungle.

The total amount of inhabited land was therefore about 840 bighas only in the whole of the 5,076 bighas covered by the Sanad of 1698 granted by Azim-us-Shan.

Thus Hindu Kalikshetra of the twelfth century which had an area of two square miles or 1,280 acres only, had developed by subsequent accretion into British Calcutta at the end of the 17th century with an area of 1,692 acres, of which 216 only were urban and 1,476 suburban. The "immemorial pilgrim road" had, in that portion of it which bounded the British settlement, come to be designated as the Broad Street, and the proposal of building the first Christian church on a piece of open ground situated by the side of that street was met with such opposition from the inhabitants that it had to be abandoned, and the church was therefore built immediately opposite the east curtain of the fort.^(b)

The Surman embassy to Delhi in 1717 improved the trade and population of the settlement, but no expansion of the town area occurred, although the limits of the English possessions in its outlying parts increased.

Between 1726 and 1737 Cherangi (Chaurangi) came to be treated as a part of the English settlement. It was still separated on the west from Govindapur by a tiger-haunted jungle, where now the grassy level of the Maidan extends. The creek wandering inland past the southern wall of the burying ground divided Chowringhee and Govindapur from the English town and the still native portion of Dhee and Bazar Calcutta.^(c)

Fort William, still further enlarged by the construction of store-houses close to it, occupied the west of the park, from the south-eastern corner of which issued the road to the *ghât* of the river which was then designated as the *killa-ghât*, meaning the *ghât* of the fort, but which has since been corrupted into *kollâ-ghât* on account of its large traffic in coal in the middle of the eighteenth

(a) Wilson's *Early Annals*, I, page 193.

(b) *Ibid.*, I, pages 214-5.

(c) Hyde's *Parochial Annals*, page 84.

century. This is not the first instance of the short memory of the ever-changing population of the town regarding the origin of names of its localities; for we have already seen how, by an exactly similar process, Chuttanut was corrupted into Sutanati, Kalikshotra into Collecotte and Burabazar into Burra-bazar. Hare Street now marks the site of this road, and the hospital and the burying-ground were on its south. Garden houses for Europeans and wealthy native merchants came to be built on the south, south-west, north and north-west of the tank in the place of the old mud and thatched bangalows.

The road east of the fort and west of the park led northwards to the Great Bazar, one branch of which passed through the "Algodam." The road leading eastwards from the eastern gate of the fort was none other than the old zamindari road with its old avenue of trees which had already begun to be cut down for the erection of buildings. It crossed the "Broad Street" exactly where Bowbazar Street and Chitpur Road now cross each other. "Along both these thoroughfares," says Hyde, "the garden houses of the wealthier of the Company's merchants and of the opulent native traders were beginning to become numerous." Omichand, the Sikh millionaire, had his house on the north of the tank, while Rasbihari Sett and Ramkissen Sett had theirs on the west of the burying-ground. The Company had a good vegetable garden, near the present Middleton Street, and they also owned fish-ponds which were then plentiful. The Company's factors and writers still resided in "convenient lodgings" inside the fort.

Before the Mahratta invasion, then, Calcutta had become a town, not merely in name, but also in appearance. The fort was an imposing structure, and the church of St. Anne right in front of it was a notable and picturesque building. Thatch and mud had been abolished in their vicinity and substantial masonry buildings with large compounds now surrounded the tank, and extended on the north up to the limit of the Great Bazar inhabited by the native traders who were gradually replacing their straw huts with pukka structures, and even beyond it over a narrow strip on the riverside where the buildings for Europeans extended further than the site of the present Mint. The creek still marked the boundary of the town on the south, but the range of buildings on the west of the town came up to the very edge of the river, although the whole of the area between the tank and the Broad Street (now Bentinck Street) had apparently not yet been built upon.

On the night of the 30th September 1737, a furious cyclone visited Calcutta and made great havoc with its buildings and shipping. Twenty-eight sailing vessels were destroyed, the steeple of St. Anne's Church above the level of the nave roof was carried away, eight or ten English houses were blown down, and numbers belonging to the Indian merchants; the beautiful shady roads were laid bare; several of the ships were driven ashore by the Governor's garden three miles below the town, except the *Newcastle*, which lay against the fort.⁽¹⁾

The Mahratta scare of 1742 drove, as we have seen, a large part of the population of the districts on the west bank of the Hooghly into the area available around the town which was under the protection of the English fort. Thus began that rapid clearing of jungle which resulted in the extension of the name of "town" to the suburban area consisting of mauzas Hogulkuria, Simlah, Tnutuneh, Arcooly, Mirzapur, Mullanga, Dingabhanga, Colinga, Taltolah, Birjee, and Ooltadanga, besides Gobindapur, and that part of Sootalooty and Dhee Calcutta which was not yet urban.

Between 1742 and 1753 the development of the town consisted chiefly in the rapid increase of native Indian houses, both cutcha and pukka—mostly cutcha, in the outlying parts of the European town within the Mahratta Ditch.

From a plan to a scale of four inches to one mile of the territory of Calcutta, as marked out in the year 1742, which Upjohn has put into a corner of his larger map of 1793 for Calcutta and its environs—it is to this plan, apparently, on a larger scale, that Hyde refers both in his *Parochial Annals* and in his *Parish of Bengal*—it would appear that the "town of Calcutta," as distinguished from its adjacent mauzabs, and within which alone resided the Christian population—English, Armenian, Portuguese, and others—was completely fenced by palisades during the Mahratta scare. The Mahratta ditch

(1) Hyde's *Parochial Annals*, 23.

was a protective barrier for the native inhabitants, and the palisades round the town afforded double security to its Christian residents.

"The railing within these defences of the town," says Hyde, "still remains in the following circuit of streets:—Fancy Lane, Larkin's Lane, British Indian Street, Mango Lane, Mission Row, Lall Bazar, Radha Bazar, Ezra Street, Amratolla Street, Aga Kesbulia Mahommed Lane, Portuguese Church Lane, Armenian Street, and Bonfield's Lane." His description of this circuit is interesting:—

"The original town of Calcutta," says he, "was at one time at least a 'fenced city,' for a plan in the British Museum shows it as encircled in some way by palisades which were continued even along the river face, and the edge of its creek or 'ditch' now reclaimed by the name of Hastings Street. A point in this plan is thus marked: 'The extensions of the palisades to the northward, from whence they go all round the town until they meet those at the southward.' Every road issuing from the town was secured by a gate. It may be that these stockades were only erected around the boundaries in the Marhatta scare of 1742, when the native population almost surrounded the three towns by a moat, or they may have been much older: the question is as yet unexplored. The plan referred to is of about the date of the scare, but it contains no hint that the palisades were then recent. It traces none of the streets within the town but one of the most insignificant, and names none of the boundaries. Nevertheless, it is a clear guide to any one who desires still to beat the bounds of the two hundred and twenty acres ^(a) comprising the original Christian Calcutta.

"Let him start from the tall building that stands out against the river blocking up the straight avenue of the Hastings Street houses. Here was at the first a square earthwork sustaining a pair of bastions, whence guns pointed down the river and up the creek.

"The creek took a half turn round this battery and crept eastwards beneath three gated bridges, until the fences turned townwards from it at Fancy Lane. One of the bridges opened from the burying place, occupied when the plan was made by the mausoleum of Charnock, and by many towers, pyramids, and obelisks, and perhaps having even then the Post Office squeezed in at its corner. The second bridge opened from the spacious yard, where sentries guarded the great bell-shaped magazine of masonry, where the Company stored its gun-powder. But why should the town fences at the third bridge sharply swerve from the natural boundary of the creek? If Fancy be the native Phansi, the reason is revealed. They here avoided a gallows-tree.

"Fancy Lane is the entrance to the bailey that ran round the whole town within the palisades. A short distance up this passage the encircling turned again westward parallel to the creek. It crossed the present Wellesley Place, and in doing so skirted Chaplain Bellamy's garden; thence it ran up Larkin's Lane, and its continuation, where some queen among huckstresses so waged her trade that the place took on her name and fame. ^(b) Thence Barretto's Lane, once called Cross Street, opens on the left; this is the bailey, beginning its long northward course and keeping, as it does so, at pretty even distance all along from the pilgrim road to Kalighat. The town was a settlement reserved exclusively for the three Christian nations, that is, for English, Portuguese, and Armenians, with their immediate dependants, and was so laid out as to keep well clear of the busy heathen highway. Between the town and this road lay the hamlets of the butchers, the scavengers, and the oilmongers. Local nomenclature still remembers them.

"From Barretto's Lane and along a bit of Mango Lane, the passage opens into Mission Row, where the memory of the old rope-walk has been supplanted by that of Kiernander's chapel and school. Here the Parish Church lay open at many points in full view across the 'Park,' and the wide sweet-water tank and Fort William, also with its handsome factory buildings, gleaming white above its crimson walls. The Governor's house near the Bankshall, an ambitious edifice in its day, must also have been a prominent object from the rope-walk.

"Thence the palisades ran up the Lall Bazar to a gate at the 'cross road,' where the cutchery was, and where the police head-quarters still are, and where native offenders were judged and suffered, but the line of the bailey branched off at Radha's Bazar.

"A crooked alley, still the bailey, connects Radha's Bazar with Ezra Street. This was the straight back of the town, which is continued northward along Amratolla Street. An orchard of *sour-shrubs* must have flourished hereabouts. Near by, where the Greek Church was built in later times, the bailey sag-sagged riverwards to Armenian Street by a lane which the natives still call Hamām-gulleo, though Turkish bath-houses have long ceased to exist in Calcutta. This lane passes near to the Portuguese Church of our 'Lady of the Rosary.' Here, when the old plan was made, the fences seem to have been recently thrown out at an angle by extending the Armenian Street line until they met the road running past the Portuguese Church. The palisades turned round the burying place of the Armenians within which stood their Church of St. Nazareth—much the same as now to look at, except that perhaps the nave had then not been extended to meet the steeple.

"Leaving this, the bailey ran in and out down to the river by streets named after the sellers of reed-mats and scouring-brushes, who traded at that end of the town, and the tail of Old China Bazar.

(a) The map shows the area to be about 150 acres only.

(b) For a different description of *Rani Mukta* only as the British Indian Street is popularly known, see chapter VII, page 42.

"The northernmost limit of the town's river face was in the present Raja Woodmand Street.

"The Strand Road as we now see it did not exist in Bellamy's time: it has nearly all been reclaimed from the river. It was then north of the Fort, a narrow roadway of very uneven line, bordered all along by the garden walls of bungalows and of a few upper-storied houses. Beyond the Fort it was broken by shipbuilding, ships or small docks. There was a gated ghât at the foot of the principal streets.

"As Calcutta became settled, Sutanuti became abandoned by the English as a place of abode. There remained, indeed, near its northernmost corner, the Tollyganj of Briscliffe's day—a pleasure garden, where once it was the height of gentility for the Company's covenanted servants to take their wives for an evening stroll or moonlight *etc.* Gradually, however, other recreations and other resorts grew into fashion. Surman's supplanted Perrin's, and Bellamy lived to see a gun-powder factory in the grounds. As he rode out to Perrin's beside his wife's palanquin, along what is now Clive Street, he would have marked how between the new stockaded Christian town and citadel and the old defenceless village of the cotton market lay the gardens, orchards, and houses of the thriving native middlemen to whom English methods of trade then, and of revenue administration later, gave so ample scope for fortune-making."

Beyond the palisaded town containing over 70 masonry houses, around the Fort, we observe in the plan of 1742 only four brick-built houses on the south, one of which seems identical with the present Loretto House in Middleton Street. There are also nine pukka houses within the town on the east of the city between the avenue leading eastward (present Bow Bazar Street) on the north and the ditch on the east and south, six of them being, in the block now called Ward No. 11 between Bow Bazar Street and Dharamtala Street, and three being very near the present Entally corner. It is, however, remarkable that only eight other masonry buildings are discoverable in the map between the road leading eastwards and the extreme north of the town, the most conspicuous being two in Halsibagan—at first excluded from, but afterwards, at the petition of their owners, included within, the town. These two houses belonged to the two noted Indians—Govinda Ram Mitra, the "black zamindar," and Omichand, the salt broker, in the Company's service.

The map of 1756 shows a much greater development of the town. A lot of jungle has been cleared, and very nearly the whole town, from Perrin's Point to the Lal Bazar Road, is dotted with masonry buildings, and the area marked out in the map of 1742, as being under jungle, is shown as being under occupation. We can see that holdings are marked out, though not prominently, for the sites of gardens and orchards, and that jungles have greatly disappeared. And whereas in the map of 1742 there are only sixteen streets to be seen, in that of 1756 no less than 27 big streets and 52 smaller streets are clearly laid down. But the greatest improvement is in pukka buildings. By a rough calculation we find that in the place of only 21 masonry structures (and only 5 of them of any size) outside the fenced city of 1742, we have in 1756 no less than 268 pukka buildings shown in the map. The huts are also shown, but not certainly with care or precision, and a great many are omitted.

The condition of the European quarter of the town before the invasion of Calcutta by Siraj-ad-daulah can be best judged by a plan of the Fort and a part of the city of Calcutta, prepared by Lieutenant Wills of the Royal Artillery. This plan is drawn to a scale of 100 feet to the inch, and the houses with their compounds, being drawn to the same scale, are exhibited with clearness and precision. Of the buildings, the Fort covers the largest space at the north-west of the tank. The export and import warehouses adjoin it on the south, between which and the Company's spacious house intervenes a wide road leading to the ghât. Mr. Holwell resides in the south-eastern house of the block of buildings contiguous to the Company's house on the south. A wide street leading to the ghât (now Koilaghât) separates this block from Mr. Douglass's house. Mr. Aymati lives next door to Mr. Douglass, in a rented house belonging to Ram Kissen Sett, beyond which is a block of ruined buildings owned by Ras Vihari Sett and his brother, in front of whose house, on the edge of the tank, is a house also shown to be Mr. Holwell's. All these buildings stand on the river bank. In front of the houses of the Setts, and on their east, lies the Burying-Ground, with the Hospital and Powder Magazine on its east. Between the Burying-Ground and the buildings of the Setts is shown a wide road on the site of Church Lane. Another range of buildings on the east of the Hospital and Powder Magazine, but separated from them by a street which is identical

with modern Council House Street, covers the entire area between the Park and the creek. Mr. Bellamy, the Chaplain, lives in a house with the largest compound almost in the middle of this block of buildings. On his east is a long row of buildings for the "calico-printers," while on the west live Captains Rannie and Clayton, Messrs. Wood and Smith, and others not named. On the south-eastern corner of the Park reside Mr. Collets and Colonel Scott, between whom and the calico-printers lies a great tank. Lady Russel and Mr. Brown reside on the east of the Park, while the play-house stands north of Brown's, just at the spot where the West End Watch Company's stately building has lately replaced James Murray's lower-roomed shop.

The 'cutcherry' stands on the north side of the "eastern road" and faces the play-house. It is separated from the "Court-house" on the west, by a tank. The gate of the "Court-house" is right opposite the north-east corner of the park; at the north-western part, but not quite at the end, of which lies the church, almost facing the eastern gate of the fort. Between the church and the Court-house are four building sites where the Writers' Buildings at present rear their lofty head above the adjacent houses. Eyres, Omichand, Coates, and Knox have houses at the back of these sites, but separated from them by a wide lane. Numerous other houses stand on the back of theirs, several with large compounds and big tanks in their enclosure, but those of Cook, and Mrs. Beard, and of Captains Rannie and Wills (the maker of the plan) line the road that passes northwards from the north-east corner of the park and the eastern face of the fort. Opposite their houses, but situated on the river bank across this road, live Messrs. Cruttenden, Tooke, and Watts, on the north of the fort, while Mr. Griffiths resides where Graham & Co.'s firm now do their business, and Mr. Machett occupies premises on the east of his. The Company's saltpetre godown is situated at the point where the road turns to the west opposite Griffiths' house and separates Mr. Watts' building from it.⁽¹⁾

It is a pity the plan does not cover a larger ground. Nevertheless its value is unique in showing us how densely packed the premises were even in the European quarter of the town as early as 1753, and how the Company's covenanted servants formed almost an exclusive quarter for themselves even in those early days. This quarter was situated between modern Canning Street on the north and Hastings Street on the south, Mission Row on the east and the river on the west. We count no less than 100 houses within an area of about 14 acres in the rectangular block in the northernmost part of it; and exclusive of the fort and of its warehouses and also of the building sites, but inclusive of out-houses and godowns, there are, we find, no less than 230 structures of brick and mortar and 17 tanks besides the great tank in the plan of this most fashionable locality of old Calcutta. It is remarkable that Omichand and the Setts, who were brokers to the Company, were the only native Indians whose names appear in the plan of the English quarter of the town.

It will be observed that the town was by no means insignificant when Siraj-ad-daulah sacked it in 1756.

How it thrived after its reconstruction in 1758 may be gathered from the later maps of the town that are extant. Captain Cameron's map gives us an idea of its condition between 1760 and 1792. In it the fort called the "citadel" is in its present situation, but Govindapur is near the Coolibazar in Hastings. Tolly's Nulla is "Gangasagar Nulla," mis-spelt "Gonadosara Nulla." The old vegetable garden of the Company, noted by Hamilton in 1710, still exists at Middleton Row. In other respects it does not add to our previous knowledge of the town.

Claud Martin's map shows the General Hospital which was purchased by the Company in 1768. The bridges at Alipur and Kidderpur over Tolly's Nulla are noted. They had both been repaired and renewed in 1763. Behind Belvedere is a road to the Governor's house. Chowringhee has extended to the south of Park Street and three houses had been built in the extended area. Jaffer Ali Khan, the Nawab, who had wished to reside in peace on being dethroned, had his house at Garden Reach, and it is shown in the map. It was only for a very short time that he resided in a street in Pataldanga which derives its name from him.

(1) The names of the Europeans are those of the Company's principal servants, Civil and Military, who resided in Calcutta at the time.

Colonel Call's map of 1786 shows what Upjohn's plan of 1742, already described, has shown us for the town area. It shows further that numerous garden houses had been built at Sealdah (called Sealdanga), Alipur, and all the way down Garden Reach. The site of "intended docks" is marked at Kidderpore.

William Ballie's map of 1792, in which the ground and new buildings at Chowringhee, south of the Burial-ground Road, were entered on the result of an accurate survey of the year before, is a map of our old town, with its 18 wards. The streets were named and marked out for the first time, and the boundary between Calcutta as a town and its suburbs was clearly laid down during this year, although the Government proclamation fixing the limits of the Town of Calcutta did not issue till the 10th of September 1794. Chowringhee in the map contains 45 houses and plenty of paddy-fields. Europeans have moved eastwards and southwards to Bow Bazar Street and Circular Road, while Taltola, Colinga, and Fenwick Bazar are inhabited by native Indians.

Upjohn's map of 1794 has already been noticed. It shows diminution of compounds in residential buildings in the town, due undoubtedly to a rise in the value of town lands, and a corresponding increase of European houses in the suburbs of Sealdah and Entally. Both sides of Circular Road are studded with houses and a 'west end' is rapidly coming into existence at Chowringhee. Between Jaun Bazar Street and the Burial-ground Road (Park Street) some forty European residences are shown on the map, and about an equal number south of the latter road, lying for the most part along that and Chowringhee Roads. 'In this part of the town, moreover, the streets are laid out with perfect regularity, very different from the rest of the town, which presents a net work of lanes and bye-lanes, the irregularity of which shows that they arose spontaneously out of the necessities of the times without any regard to public convenience, and apparently without the slightest control on the part of the authorities.'^(a)

In Schalech's map of 1825, a view of the Government House is shown without the gardens to the south which now form so ornamental an addition. 'The first thing that strikes one on looking at it is the enormous number of tanks and pools of water throughout the town, almost every square inch on the map containing two or more of them. Old Calcutta now appears thickly populated, the streets being mostly lined by continuous rows of houses. Similarly, the Koomartooly Ward is densely studded with pukka houses, and the Colootola and Bow Bazar Wards also show a fair proportion of dwellings. But the pukka buildings, especially in the north of the town, grow fewer in number as we move inland, very few such buildings being shown east of Cornwallis's Street. There are also comparatively bare patches in Shampooker, the north of Jorabagan and Jorasanko and the north-east corner of Colootola. In the southern quarter of the town there has evidently been a great increase of pukka houses since 1794. The south-east corner of Chowringhee (called Hastings Place in the map) is, however, still unoccupied, with the exception of a few houses in the neighbourhood of what are known as the Panch-kotee.'^(b)

The next map of Calcutta is that compiled from Simms' survey in 1850. This map is in substantial agreement with the map given by Mr. Beverley in his Census report of 1876, which merely contains an addition of 41 acres due to accretion from the river in the northern ward. It is a map of the old town within the Marhatta Ditch with its 18 wards like the maps of Baillie and Upjohn. Great improvement in every part of the town in respect of buildings, streets, etc., had taken place between 1825 and 1850 and between 1850 and 1876. As these matters are dealt with in another chapter, no further discussion of Simms' map is here called for.

The next map of Calcutta is the one in present use. It was prepared in the office of the Surveyor-General after the supplementary survey of 1891. The map enclosed with the Calcutta Census Report of 1891 is identical with this map except that the former, while omitting particulars as to buildings, streets, tanks, etc., which the latter delineates, gives details of the blocks and circles into which the town was divided for census purposes. Both these maps, however, show large extensions of the town. While the maps of the town of Calcutta for 1850 and 1876 are maps of 18 wards only, containing 4,997 and 5,037 acres,

(a) Beverley's Census Report, 1876.

(b) *Ibid.*

respectively, the maps of 1891 and 1901, are maps of 25 wards with areas respectively of 13,133 and 13,237 acres. These additional areas have been engrafted on the old town by cutting out a large slice off the suburbs.

The history of these Suburbs is as old as that of the town. The "free tenure" of the town and the zamindari of the 24-Parganas were, as we have seen before, granted to the Company simultaneously in 1757 by Nawab Mir Jafir who paid, in addition, a sum of rupees one crore and seventy lakhs as restitution money to meet damages done by Siraj-ud-doula during the siege. The reconstruction of the town began with the distribution of this money and as the fort was moved out into Govindapur, where it was erected on a grand scale, it was expected that the limits of the town would soon extend beyond the Marhatta Ditch. In fact, even before the siege, as we know, some of the "out-towns" were included within the town for revenue purposes. Therefore, one of the first steps of the Company on the acquisition of their landed properties was "to annex," according to Holwell, "a considerable tract of land taken from the 24-Parganas adjoining to Calcutta in order to extend its bounds." This tract, added to some of the mauzas intended for the town but lying outside the Ditch, made up fifteen *dihis*, or homestead lands, raised above the level of the surrounding country, and comprised 55 mauzas or *grams* and was therefore called *Panchannagram*. These were called the "Suburbs," and Bolts, the Collector of Calcutta, became the Collector of the Town and Suburbs as well as of the 24-Parganas. By the proclamation of 1794, the boundary of the town was fixed to be the inner side of the Mahratta Ditch.^(a) By Act XXI of 1857, the "Suburbs" were defined to include all lands within the general limits of Panchannagram. It is important to remember that they included from the very beginning, mauzas Dallanda, Dhalbanga, Sealdah, Serampore, Dakhin Paikpara, Bahir Birji and Bahir Serampur^(b) of the town grant which were therefore revenue-free, while the rest of the mauzas in the suburbs were revenue-paying as appertaining to the area in the 24-Parganas covered by the grant of the zamindari.

The town then, within the Mahratta Ditch, and the suburbs outside of it, were, as far as we can trace, composed from 1757 to 1857 of the following mauzas respectively :—

TOWNS.

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. The Settlement (within Dhee Calcutta). | 10. Ooltadanga (a part). |
| 2. Bazar Calcutta. | 11. Tuntunesh { (included in Dihī |
| 3. Dihī Calcutta. | 12. Aroooly } Calcutta). |
| 4. Sutanuti, including Burtollah. | 13. Mirzapur. |
| 5. Govindapur (with its Bazar). | 14. Dingabhangā (Jala Colinga). |
| 6. Chaurangi. | 15. Colinga. |
| 7. Simlah (a part). | 16. Talpooker (included in Colinga). |
| 8. Molunga (including Gonespur). | 17. Dihī Birjee (a part). |
| 9. Hogulkuria. | 18. Makunda. |
| | 19. Kishpoorpara. |
| | 20. Amhati. |

SUBURBS.

Panchannagram, (c)

- | | | | |
|----------------|-----|-----|--------------|
| I Dihī Sinthee | ... | ... | 1. Sinthee. |
| | | | 2. Coosipur. |
| | | | 3. Paikpara. |
| | | | 4. Chitpur. |
| II " Chitpore | ... | ... | 5. Tallah. |
| | | | 6. Beerpara. |
| | | | 7. Kalidaha. |

(a) See Appendix I at page 56.

(b) See Chapter VI, page 28, footnote (b).

(c) The fifteen *dihis* within which these villages were situated and the annual revenue paid by each in the years 1765 to 1767 were (1) Dihī Sinthee Rs. 1,958-13-6, (2) Dihī Chitpore Rs. 919-1-9, (3) Dihī Dakhin Paikpara Rs. 2,045-3, (4) Dihī Bagnollah Rs. 807-13-3, (5) Dihī Ooltadanga Rs. 2,424-13, (6) Dihī Sealdah, nil; (7) Dihī Cooliah Rs. 1,890-1-9, (8) Dihī Soorah Rs. 2,110-12-9, (9) Dihī Kataliy Rs. 2,263-4-6, (10) Dihī Topsesh Rs. 2,302-9, (11) Dihī Birji Rs. 2,815-10, (12) Dihī Serampore Rs. 1,430-45-5, (13) Dihī Mancharpur Rs. 1,669-5-6, (14) Dihī Chockrober, nil; (15) Dihī Bhawanipur Rs. 1,529-12-10.

SUBURBS—*concl'd.*Panchannagram—*concl'd.*

III	Dihī Bagzolla	...	...	8. Dakhindharee.
			...	9. Kankooria.
IV	" Dakshin Paikpara	...	...	10. Noabad.
			...	11. Belgatchya.
V	" Ooltadanga	...	...	12. Ooltadanga (part).
			...	13. Bagmari.
			...	14. Gouriberh.
VI	" Simleah	...	...	15. Bahir Simleah.
			...	16. Narikeldanga.
			...	17. Soorah.
VII	" Soorah	...	...	18. Kankoorgatche.
			...	19. Koochnan.
			...	20. Duttabad.
VIII	" Cooleah	...	...	21. Mullickabad.
			...	22. Cooleah.
IX	" Sealdah	...	...	23. Sealdah.
			...	24. Ballinghata.
			...	25. Entally.
			...	26. Pagladanga.
X	" Entally	...	...	27. Neemuokpoeta.
			...	28. Kamardanga.
			...	29. Gobrah.
			...	30. Tengrah.
			...	31. Topsea.
XI	" Topsiah	...	...	32. Tiljulla.
			...	33. Baniapooker including Karoya.
			...	34. Chowbagah.
			...	35. Dhullanda.
			...	36. Saupgatchee.
			...	37. Aunobad.
			...	38. Nonadanga.
XII	" Serampore	...	...	39. Bondel Ooloberia.
			...	40. Beddesadanga.
			...	41. Koostea.
			...	42. Purranagger.
			...	43. Ghocogoodanga.
			...	44. Serampore.
			...	45. Ballygunj.
XIII	" Chuckerberh	...	...	46. Gudahaha.
			...	47. Chuckerberh.
XIV	" Bhowanipur	...	...	48. Bhowanipur.
			...	49. Neejgram.
			...	50. Beltola.
			...	51. Kalighat.
XV	" Manoharpur	...	...	52. Manoharpur.
			...	53. Moodeali.
			...	54. Shahanagar.
			...	55. Koykalee.

Generally speaking, this division of town and suburbs which were treated as two separate municipal towns in 1857, remained, with certain modifications,^(a) extant till 1888.

The constituent villages of some of these *dihis*, when large, were subdivided afterwards into smaller mauzas and there were, therefore, 59 villages for 14 *dihis* in 1765 and 65 mauzas at a later date. As examples of this subdivision we may note that manza Sinthee was split up into Sinthee, Neej-Sinthee and Gooptabindaban, Cossipur into Cossipur, Utterpara, Nyenan and Nij-Nyenan, and Dakshindaree into Dakhindaree and Neej Dhakhindaree.

The Municipality of the Suburbs of Calcutta, as constituted under the Bengal Municipal Act 1876, is defined by a Government notification dated 10th September 1877, which is appended to this chapter. Thus defined, it excluded 13 mauzas Nos. 20, 21, 27, 35 to 38, 40, 41, 44, 49, 50 and 55 of the Panchannagram list, while it included several villages of the 24-Parganas

(a) See Government notifications, dated 17th October 1867, 30th March 1868, 6th June 1869, and 22nd September 1870 published respectively, in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 23rd October 1867, 1st April 1868, 16th June 1869, and 28th September 1870.

beyond Panchannagram. It was divided into six wards and 14 police-sections. These divisions and their constituent mauzas were:—

Ward No.	Name of Police Section.		Name of Mauzas.
1	Cossipore	...	Cossipore and Sinthee.
	Chitpore	...	Chitpore, Doorgapore, Tallah, Beerpara, Paikpara, and Kalidaha.
	Ooltadanga	...	Belgachia and Ooltadanga.
2	Maniktollah	...	Gowrober, Simlah, Maniktolla and Bagmaree.
	Balliaghatta	...	Kancoorgachee, Narkuldanga, Sealdah, Koochiwan, Soorah, Coolia and Balliaghatta.
3	Entally	...	Entally, Tangra, Pughadanga, Kamar-danga and Gobra.
	Baniapooker	...	Jannagar, Tiljulla and Topseah.
4	Ballygunge	...	Porannagar Ballygunge, Kurryah, Bundle, Ooleberiah and Ghooghoo-danga.
	Tollygunge	...	Gudshaha, Monoharpur, Shahnagar and Modially.
5	Bhowanipore	...	Bhowanipore, Chakraber and Kalighat.
	Alipore	...	Alipore, Zeerut, Radhanagar, Gopalnagar, Durgapur, Chetla, Sonadanga (a part) Mayapur and Shururpur (a part).
6	Ekbalpoor	...	Boishberiah, Rajarampur, Bhukailas, Daklin, Sherpur, Monipur, Bolarnipur, Jarul, Manjural, Dowlutpoor, and Ekbalpoor.
	Garden Reach	...	Maniktollah, Ramnagar, Indree, and Sonai.
	Tollygunge (Durgapore)	...	Gobindpur, Dhakuriah, Arackpoor.
	Watgunge	...	Kidderpore, Boikantpore, Adigangaachur, and Ranchandpore.

In 1889 the Suburban Municipality was, under an Act of the Bengal Council of the previous year, split up into four parts. Speaking generally, it may be said that Ward 1 was constituted into a separate Municipality called Cossipore-Chitpore; Ward 2 was formed into the Municipality of Maniktala; Wards 3, 4, 5 and 6 were amalgamated with the town of Calcutta under the names of the Added and Fringe Areas but not wholly. Precisely speaking, the distribution was as follows:—Thanas Cossipore-Chitpore containing mauzas 1 to 7, 11, and a part of mauza 12 in thana Ooltadanga of the Panchannagram list, were combined to form the North Suburban Municipality of Cossipore-Chitpore. Thanas Maniktala and Baliaghatta, containing mauzas 8, 9, parts of 12, 20 and 21, mauzas 13, 16, 17 and 18, were separated together to form the East Suburban Municipality of Maniktala, which is situated between the circular canal and new canal. A portion of thana Garden Reach was combined with thana Watgunge to form Ward No. 25 of the town. The rest of thana Garden Reach and a part of the 24-Parganas were combined in 1895 to form the present Suburban Municipality of Garden Reach. Mauza No. 55 was added to a large part of the 24-Parganas in thana Tollygunge, beyond Panchannagram, to form the South Suburban Municipality of Tollygunge. The rest of the mauzas of Panchannagram, in the Suburban Municipality, belonging to thanas Entally, Beniapukur, Ballygunge, Tollygunge, and Bhowanipur, were added to the town. The tract of land which is bounded on the east by the circular canal and on the west by the Circular Road, was added to the town to comprise its Fringe Area Wards, thus:—Mauza 12 (part) went to form Ward No. 1F.A.; Nos. 13 (part) and 14 (part) formed Ward No. 3F.A.; Nos. 15 and 16 (part) went to form Ward No. 4F.A.; while a part of mauza 16 and the entire mauza 23 formed Ward No. 9F.A. of the town. In forming the Added Area Wards, mauzas 24 (part), 25, 26, 28, 29 and 30 have been absorbed to form Ward No. 19, of the town; part of 31, and 32, 33, 39 to 41 form Ward No. 20; and Nos. 42 to 46, and 50 and 52 (part), 53 and 54 form Ward No. 21; while Nos. 47 to 49, 51 and 52 (part) have been absorbed to form Ward No. 22, of the present town of Calcutta.

The progressive growth of the town, so far as it can be tabulated from the materials available, and some indication of the relative importance in the past of its different parts, may be obtained from the figures given in the two tables appended at the end of this chapter. ^(a)

(a) See Appendices III and IV.

APPENDIX I.

PROCLAMATION FIXING THE LIMITS OF THE TOWN OF CALCUTTA.

Issued by the Governor-General in Council on the 10th September 1794.

WHEREAS in and by the 159th section, Chapter 52 of an Act passed in the 33rd year of His Majesty's reign, entitled "an Act for continuing in the East India Company, for a limited time, the possession of the British territories in India, together with their exclusive trade, under certain limitations, for establishing further regulations for the government of the said territories, and the better administration of justice within the same; for appropriating to certain uses the revenues and profits of the said Company; and for making provision for the good order and Government of the towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay," it is enacted that if any question shall arise touching or concerning the true limits and extent of the said towns and factories, or any of them, the same shall be inquired into by the Governor-General in Council at Fort William in respect to the limits and extent of Calcutta, and by the Governor in Council of Fort St. George in respect to the limits and extent of Madras, and the Governor in Council at Bombay in respect to the town of Bombay, and that such limits as the said respective Governments, by order in Council, shall declare and prescribe to be the limits of the said towns and factories, respectively, shall be held, deemed and taken in law as the true limits of the same, any custom or usage to the contrary notwithstanding. And whereas such question, as in and by the said clause of the said Act is meant and referred to, has arisen and been made with respect to the limits of the said town of Calcutta, and the Governor-General in Council, in pursuance of the authority vested in him by the said Act, has inquired into the same, and by an order duly made in Council has declared and prescribed the limits of the said town, and has directed and commanded the same to be publicly notified, in order that the said limits, so declared and prescribed, may be known to the inhabitants of the said town, and to all persons whom the same may in anywise concern.—

It is hereby publicly notified that the town of Calcutta, in respect to all legal intents, and purposes, extends to, and is bounded by, the several lines, limits, and boundaries hereinafter mentioned and described, that is to say—

The Northern boundary is declared to commence, and does accordingly commence, on the west side of the river Hooghly at the post or mete No. 22, situated at the north point of Colonel Robertson's garden called Jackepore, immediately opposite to the mouth of the brook called Chitpore Nullah or Bang Bazar Nullah; and the said Northern boundary is from thence declared to continue, and is continued accordingly, by a line drawn across the river from the aforesaid point to the south corner of the mouth of the said nullah unto the post or mete No. 1 near the foot of the Chitpore Bridge; and from thence by a line drawn eastward and passing the south end of the said Bridge to No. 2, and from thence along the south side of the said Nullah or brook to the post or mete No. 3, and thence on to the post or mete No. 4, passing the old Powder Mill Bazar until it reaches the foot of the bridge leading to Dum-Dum, where the post or mete No. 5 is.

The Eastern boundary is declared to commence, and does accordingly commence, at the said post or mete No. 5, and is declared to continue, and does accordingly continue, by a line traced along the west or inner side of the Mahratta Ditch or entrenchment and the east side of the road adjoining thereunto until it reaches the post or mete No. 6, at the northern angle next to the road of an enclosure called Halsee Bagan, which said Halsee Bagan is included within the said town of Calcutta; and from the said northern angle by a line drawn eastward along the southern side of the ditch or trench which encloses the said Halsee Bagan to the post or mete marked No. 9; and from thence southward along the western side of the said ditch or trench to the post or mete also marked No. 8; and from the said last-mentioned post or mete westward along the northern side of the said ditch or trench until the said line reaches mark No. 7, where there is a thane; and from the said last-mentioned post or mete by a line drawn southward and on the western side of the Mahratta entrenchment and the eastern side of the Boiteconnah Road as far as the remains of the said Mahratta entrenchment are visible to the post or mete No. 8, at the corner of Raja Hambrook's Bazar, and of the road leading to Balloo Ghaut immediately opposite to Narm Chaitoorjee's road; and from the said last-mentioned post or mete No. 8 by a line continued in a southern direction passing through Mirzapore and drawn along the eastern side of the Boiteconnah Road, and leaving the Portuguese burying ground to the east, until it reaches the Boiteconnah tree, where the two posts or metes marked, respectively, No. 9 and No. 10 are fixed on each side of the road opposite to the Bowbazar Road and Boiteconnah Bazar; and from the last-mentioned post or mete marked No. 10 by a line drawn along the eastern side of the said Boiteconnah Road to the post or mete No. 11 opposite to Gopee Baboo's Bazar, which bazar is situated between the Jann Bazar and Dhurrumtollah Roads; and from thence in the same direction until the said line reaches the post or mete No. 12, at the point of turning of the said road towards the west, leaving Dhee Soorampore on the east, and thereby including within the limits of Calcutta the Protestant burying ground, Chowringhee, and the land thereunto belonging, called Dhee Birjee.

The Southern boundary is declared to commence, and does accordingly commence, from the last-mentioned post or mete No. 12, and is declared to continue, and does accordingly continue, by a line drawn from thence to the westward with a little inclination to the southward along the southern side of the public road excluding Dhee Chuckerbeer, and including Duneapukah, otherwise called Arreepukah in Dhee Birjee, until the said line reaches the beginning of the Russpugh Road immediately opposite to Chowringhee High Road, where the post or mete No. 13 is fixed; and from the said post or mete No. 13 by a line running to the westward along the southern side of the public road to the post or mete No. 14, fixed between the thane and the General Hospital, and passing on westerly to the post or mete No. 15 at the foot of the Alipore Bridge, and excluding the General Hospital aforesaid, the Hospital for Inmates, and the Hospital burying ground, situated in Dhee Bowanipore; and from thence and from the south side of the said Alipore Bridge by a line drawn and continued along the south side of the Nullah, commonly called Tolly's Nullah, at high-water mark to the post or mete marked No. 16; and from thence passing the foot or south end of Surmon's Bridge, commonly called Khiderpore Bridge, and extending to the mouth of the said nullah, where it enters the River Hooghly, excluding Watson's Dock; and to the post or mete marked No. 17, and then proceeding from east to west across the said River Hooghly to the south-east point of Major Kyd's garden, and extending the said garden and village of Shadpore, at which point a post or mete marked No. 18 is directed to be fixed; and

The Western boundary is declared to commence, and does accordingly commence, at the said point where the said post or mete marked No. 18 is fixed, and is declared to continue and does accordingly continue, from thence by a line drawn at low-water mark along the western side of the said River Hooghly

bat excluding the ghats of Ramkissenpore, Howrah, and Sulkes, where posts or metes are fixed, marked respectively Nos. 19, 20, and 21, until the said line reaches the northern point of Colonel Robertson's garden or Jackapore storemaid, where a post or mete is fixed, marked No. 22, and immediately opposite to the post or mete No. 1, at Chitpore Bridge.

Declared and proclaimed by order of the Governor-General in Council of Fort William in Bengal this 10th day of September 1794.

E. RAY.

Secretary to the Government.

N.B.—It does not appear that the local Government have since the passing of the 55 Geo. 3, c. 84, availed themselves of the power conferred on them by that statute of extending the limits of Calcutta.

R. H. MITTOS,

Magistrate.

APPENDIX II.

NOTIFICATION.

DEFINING THE POLICE AND MUNICIPAL JURISDICTION OF THE SUBURBS OF CALCUTTA.

Dated 10th September 1877.—In modification of the boundaries declared in the Government notifications dated 17th October 1867, 5th June 1869, 30th March 1868, and 22nd September 1870, and published respectively in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 23rd October 1867, 16th June 1869, 1st April 1868, and 28th September 1870, the following are declared to be the revised boundaries, with effect from the 1st October 1877:—

NORTHERN BOUNDARY.

Commencing from the north-west angle at Paramanick Ghât on the River Hooghly, the boundary follows the northern side of Paramanick Ghât Road eastwards to its junction with the Cossipore Road; thence northwards along the western side of the Cossipore Road till its junction with Dhareobagan Road; thence eastwards along the northern side of the Dhareobagan Road till it meets the Barrackpore Trunk Road, which it crosses; and thence continues along the northern side of the North Sinthee Road eastwards till it meets the Eastern Bengal Railway line, crossing to the eastern side of the said line at No. 2 Bridge, north of the Dum-Dum station.

EASTERN BOUNDARY.

The boundary on the east follows the eastern side of the Eastern Bengal Railway line southwards till it meets the bridge over the new canal at Oulidanganh; from thence it follows the eastern bank of the new canal till it joins the Ballighatia Canal at the Dheppa toll-house; thence crosses the Ballighatia Canal to its southern bank; thence westwards along the southern bank of the Ballighatia Canal till it meets Pagladanga Canal Road; thence along the eastern side of the Pagladanga Canal Road to its junction with the Pagladanga Road; thence along the eastern side of the Pagladanga Road till it meets the Chingreeghatta Road; thence southwards to the Panchanogram iron boundary pillar; thence southwards along the eastern side of an unmetalled road till it meets the municipal tramway; thence it turns westwards along the southern boundary of the municipal tramway till it meets the South Tangrah Road; thence it follows the eastern side of the Tangrah Road till it meets Christopher's Lane and Topseeh Road; thence along the eastern side and afterwards along the southern side of the Topseeh Road till it joins the Tiljullah Road; thence along the southern side of the Tiljullah Road to No. 4 Bridge of the Calcutta and South-Eastern State Railway line; thence along the eastern side of the line of railway till it meets the Kankily Road; thence westwards, crossing the railway, it follows the southern side of the Kankily Road till it meets the Gurreahat Road; thence southwards along the eastern side of the Gurreahat Road till it meets the Mollahatty Road.

SOUTHERN BOUNDARY.

Leaving the Gurreahat Road, the boundary runs westwards along the southern side of the Mollahatty Road till it meets the Ruesapugla Road; thence northwards along the western side of the Ruesapugla Road till it meets the Tollygunge Bridge Road; thence along the southern side of the Tollygunge Bridge Road westwards to Tollygunge Suspension Bridge, where it crosses Tolly's Nullah; from thence it runs along the southern side of the Tollygunge, Shahpore, Goragashce, and the Taratolla Roads, which latter passes through the villages of Dowlinpore No. 441, Indree No. 445, and Durroepin No. 383; thence westwards along the southern side of the Circular Garden Reach or Moolcheekhola Road to the point where the Durroepin boundary crosses it; and thence along the southern side of the Paharpur Road, which diverges from that point through the villages of Singarathee No. 444, Futehpore No. 430, and Ramasathee No. 432; and thence northwards along the west side of the above road through the villages of Futehpore No. 430 and Ramasurpore No. 300, till it joins the western boundary line at the junction of the boundary villages Ramasurpore and Garden Reach; the boundary then proceeds northwards for a short distance up to Garden Reach Road, following the boundary common to Moodially, Dheopara, and Dum-Dum on the one side and Garden Reach on the other, up to the Dum-Duma drain; thence along the eastern cut of the Dum-Duma drain in a straight line to the river Hooghly.

WESTERN BOUNDARY.

Starting from the tri-junction of the village of Dum-Duma, Garden Reach, and River Hooghly, it proceeds along the southern bank of the River Hooghly as far as Hastings bridge; it thence follows the northern bank of Tolly's Nullah up to Jerut Bridge; thence along the northern approach to the bridge

to the Lower Circular Road; thence along the southern and eastern side of the Circular Road up to Manicktollah Road; thence eastwards along the northern side of the road to a point where the Mahratta Ditch touches the Manicktollah Road; thence along the Mahratta Ditch northwards till it meets the Upper Circular Road; thence northwards along the Circular Road to the point where it meets the Halsee Bagan Road; thence along the northern side of the Halsee Bagan Road eastwards till it meets the Mahratta Ditch (which is the boundary between Halsee Bagan and Gourcooter), which it follows till it meets the Ooltadanga Road, following the southern side of the said road till it joins the Upper Circular Road, and follows the eastern side of the same road and the eastern and northern banks of the Mahratta Ditch till it joins the River Hooghly at Permit Ghât; thence it proceeds along the eastern bank of the Hooghly River up to the Paramanick Ghât.

1. *Note*.—All railways, canals, tramways, drains, lanes, &c. (with the exception of the Calcutta Circular Road and Mahratta Ditch), situated on the above boundaries, are included in the Suburbs of Calcutta, together with the drains on both sides of all such roads and lanes.

2. *Note*.—The villages of Nyenan, Neej-Nyenan, Nyenan (east) and Neej-Sinthee, situated north of the northern boundary line of the Suburbs as above defined, are attached to thana Burranagor of district 24-Parganas.

3. *Note*.—The portion of village Neemuckpookten, situated east of the Pegladanga Road, is attached to thana Tollygunge, of district 24-Parganas.

4. *Note*.—The village of Gobindpore and parts of villages Anrupore, Silimpore, and Dhacooria, situated west of the Gurreahat Road and north of the Mollahatty Road, are included in the police and municipal jurisdiction of the suburbs of Calcutta.

HORACE A. COCKERELL.

Offy. Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

APPENDIX III.

Year.	Town area in acreage.			Houses.		Streets.	Lanes.	Byelanes.	Tanks.
	Urban.	Rural.	Total.	Pucka.	Kutcha.				
1700	316	1,476	1,692	8	8,009	2	2	...	17
1720	332	2,018	2,350	40	13,300	4	8	...	27
1742	448	2,781	3,229	121	14,747	16	46	74	27
1760	704	2,625	3,329	498	14,450	27	63	74	13
1794	3,714	1,283 ^(a)	4,997	1,114	13,667	163	520	517	61
1837	do.	do.	do.	70,076		...	...	...	637
1850	do.	do.	do.	13,120—40,445		...	...	...	1,043
1872	^(a) do.	do.	do.	20,443—18,421		...	...	...	...
1876	3,754	1,283	5,037	16,896—22,860		132 miles in length.			796
1881	^(a) do.	do.	do.	16,128—19,406		^(b) 135	"	"	869
1891	^(a) 11,850	1,283	13,133	20,070—47,351		315	"	"	288
1901	^(a) 11,954	1,283	13,237	40,342—79,037		^(b) 328	"	"	^(c) 28

APPENDIX IV.

Area corresponding to our present Ward No.		For the year 1792.		For the year 1796.		For the year 1799.	
		Pucka houses.		Pucka houses.		Pucka houses.	
1	...	1	...	12	...	100	...
2	...	2	...	26	...	42	...
3	...	3	9	42	...	135	...
4	...	4	...	13	...	33	...
5	...	5	3	20	...	23	...
6	...	6	...	25	...	80	...
7	...	7	61	191	...	234	...
8	...	8	2	5	...	44	...
9	...	9	...	11	...	27	...
10	...	10	...	1	...	77	...
11	...	11	...	3	...	22	...
12	...	12	30	36	...	183	...
13	...	13	...	...	...	48	...
14	...	14	...	5	...	40	...
15	...	15	7	3	...	19	...
16	...	16	...	...	...	9	...
17	...	17	...	1	...	19	...
18	...	18	20	24	...	^(c) 4	...
Total	...	121	...	498	...	1,114	...

(a) See the explanation of acres with reference to table II. in the Calcutta Census Report for 1881.

(b) For Fort William and Madan.

(c) 43 brick-metalled and 70 stone-metalled.

(d) 180 " " and 104 " " and 25 over sewer ditches in towns or fair-weather kutcha roads in the added area.

(e) In town area only.

(f) Exclusive of the Fort.

CHAPTER IX.

POPULATION AND REVENUE.

It is difficult to calculate, with even approximate accuracy, the population and revenue of the "town" of Calcutta for the different periods of its development. The difficulty arises, not so much from lack of materials, as from doubts as to the meaning attached to the two words "town" and "population," by the different authorities that have calculated them.

In early times it was the practice to talk of any village that could boast of a *hāt* or mart as a town. The Embassy headed by Surman asked for the zamindaries of "38 towns." These so-called "towns" were, as we know, no better than very ordinary riparian villages. We further know that Sutanuti, Govindapur, and Calcutta were, from the earliest days of the Company's settlement called "towns," although they were, as we have seen, but petty villages in Charnock's time. We have further seen that Holwell called the four villages Baniapooker, Tangrah, Dhallanda, and Pagladanga "out-towns" of Calcutta, though, according to his own statement, they could together boast of no more than 228 bighas of rent-paying land. We also know that after the excavation of the Mahratta Ditch in 1742, it became the fashion to describe it as the inland boundary of the "town," though, as we have already learnt, the Mahratta Ditch has *never* represented the actual inland boundary of the Town of Calcutta.

We have shown, in the previous chapter, the total urban and rural areas that were covered by the "Town of Calcutta" in various years. And although we have there seen that between 1794 and 1872 the urban area remained more or less constant, it must be remembered that the condition of the area south of Jaunbazar Street, in the matter of reclamation of jungle and extension of residential area, underwent a continuous change from year to year during the whole of this period. So that, in discussing previous calculations for population and revenue, it is our first duty to see what particular areas are covered by the figures.

Then, again, the term "population" has signified to some the normal resident population; to others it has meant to include the number of people as well that flock to the town for business or pleasure, during the 24 hours of a day. While the expression "population of the town" has to some connoted the total of all persons, male and female, inclusive of children, found within the urban areas only, to others it has meant the whole population within the artificial boundaries of the town, inclusive of rural areas; while others again profess to have excluded females and children. A few have included not only the land areas, but the adjoining water areas as well, in their calculation of the population of the town.

It should, therefore, be our endeavour, before discarding any calculations or estimates as palpably absurd, to discover, if possible, the mistakes, if any, made, and the sense and the extent of meaning in the terms employed by each.

The population of Calcutta, within the general boundary of the Mahratta Ditch, as estimated by various authorities is given below:—

Year.	Of area owned by the English.	Inclusive of area owned by other zamindars within the Mahratta Ditch.	Authority.
1704	... 15,000	... 30,000	Wilson.
1706	... 22,000	... 44,000	
1708	... 31,000	... 62,000	
1710	... 41,000	... 82,000	
1710	... 12,000	...	Hamilton.

Year.	Of area owned by the English.	Inclusive of area owned by other zamindars under British influence.	Authority.
1752	... 104,860	... 209,720	Wilson.
1752	...	... 409,000	Holwell.
1789-90	...	... 609,000	Grandpré.
1796	...	... 509,000	Martin.

Year.	Of area owned by the English.	Inclusive of area owned by other zamindars under British influence.	Authority.
1800	...	500,000	Police Committee.
1802	...	600,000	The Magistrates.
1814	...	700,000	Sir E. Hyde.
1815	...	500,000	East India Gazette (newspaper).
1821	179,917	...	As censused by the Assessors.
1822	230,552	...	As calculated " " Magistrates.
...	300,000	...	John Bull (newspaper).
1831	187,081	...	As censused by Captain Steel.
1837	229,714	...	" " Birch.
1850	361,369	...	As calculated by Simms.
1850	413,182	...	" " the Chief Magistrate.
1866	358,662	...	As censused by Dowleana, exclusive of the Port and Fort.
1872	428,458	...	As censused by Chink, exclusive of the Port and Fort.
1876	409,036	...	As censused by Beverley, exclusive of the Port and Fort.
1881	401,671	...	Ditto ditto ditto.
1891	470,835	...	As censused by Maguire, exclusive of the Port and Fort and of the added area.
1901	542,686	...	As censused in 1901, exclusive of the Port and Fort and of the added area.

It will be seen at a glance that Wilson's estimate is very different from Hamilton's who was an eye-witness of the condition of the town in 1710-1727, and also from Holwell's, who was himself Collector of Calcutta in 1752. Attention is also at once arrested by the very wide differences that occur, with a few exceptions, in the figures of the years that follow.

Wilson notes that the revenues of the settlement rose from the trifling sum of Rs. 75 and Rs. 120 a month, at its commencement, to Rs. 480 in 1704, Rs. 885 in 1707, Rs. 1,010 in 1708, and Rs. 1,370 in 1709. He further states that the average net monthly balance in Holwell's time may be set down as Rs. 3,500. The latter figure is apparently somewhat below the mark. The total net balance of the revenues paid into the treasury for the fifteen years quoted by Holwell^(a) was Rs. 5,58,275. But this amount does not fully represent the actual collections which were in fact much greater. They come, according to Holwell's estimates,^(b) to about Rs. 46,000 per annum, or roughly Rs. 3,833 per month. Assuming that these net cash balances give a true indication of the population, we should have, by the rule of proportion, on the basis of Holwell's estimate of the population in 1752, the population of the areas under the influence of the Calcutta settlement as follows:—

1698	...	8,073	1708	...	108,700
1704	...	51,600	1710	...	147,400

We have it, however, on the authority of Hamilton who, although "an interloper" and, therefore, somewhat inimical to the Company, was nevertheless a shrewd and careful observer, that the actual population of the settlement in 1710 was not more than 10,000 or 12,000 souls. This is less than one-tenth of the population arrived at by the calculation of proportional revenue. We know also that various new sources of revenue were tapped with the growth of the town, and that residents were not the only persons taxed to pay them, but also outsiders who came in for business^(c) so that the amount collected at any one time cannot be taken as a safe or certain indication of the population of the town for the time being. Therefore, rather than assume that the figures given by Holwell or Hamilton are wrong, we will accept Hamilton's figure of 12,000 as an approximately correct guess of the resident population of the 1,692 acres of land in the occupation of the Company at the time, it being borne in mind that of this area, 216 acres were urban and 1,476 rural. This gives us an average density for the resident population of 7 per acre, an average density of about half that of the present suburban town of Maniktala or Alipur. This does not appear to be in any way improbable. It must be remembered that the population of some of the 38 out-towns used, even in Hamilton's time, to swell the day population of Calcutta for trade and business.

(a) *Tracts*, 3rd edition, page 341.

(b) *Ibid.*, pages 211 to 259.

(c) *Ibid.*; See also *Bolts' Considerations and Talboys Wheeler's History*.

As for Holwell's figures, we are not sure that there has been no mistake in their calculation and interpretation. He computed the areas under his jurisdiction, to quote him exactly, as follows:—

	Bigha	Cottah	Containing houses
(1) Dee Calcutta ...	1,704	3	3,422
Soota Nutty ...	1,861	54	2,374
Govindapur ...	1,044	134	1,753
Bazar Calcutta ...	560	24	980
John Nagore ...	228	14	606
Bagh Bazar ...	57	174	173
Lall Bazar ...	10	9	81
Santose Bazar ...	5	84	53
Total ...	5,472	04	9,451
houses or pattas which paid a ground rent of Rs. 3 per bigha.			
(2) Ground occupied by the—			
Company ...	310	54	
Donations ...	16	11	
Churches ...	7	19	
Moors' Mosques ...	15	74	
To Gentoo idols ...	13	13	
Given to sundry Bra-			
mins ...	242	0	
Given to Gentoo poor	14	12	
Given to Moors poor ...	30	15	
Grounds bought by			
devout persons to			
make tanks ...	62	184	
Indulgences ...	18	104	
Bigha ...	733	0	which paid no ground rent.
Total of the Company's ground ...	6,205	04	
(3) Simles ...	1,000		Possessed by private proprietors who could not be prevailed upon to alienate their lands.
Molunga ...	800		
Mirzapur ...	1,000		
Hogulkuria ...	250		
Bigha ...	3,050		containing 5,267 houses.

Grand total of land and houses in the settlement ... 9,255 containing 14,718 houses.

These are facts ascertained by the Collector and his staff. They should, therefore, be taken to represent the truth as nearly as possible. It was also ascertained that each "house" had, on an average, eight members in it, and that each patta-holder had five tenants in his holding. The mistake that appears to have been made was to assume that each of these tenants had a "house" to himself, or that each tenant's house had eight members in it. From the maps of the period that are extant we find that there were not, as a matter of fact, eight separate houses within each holding of a bigha in extent. The eight members—"a very moderate estimate for each house"—were very likely returned by the subordinates of Holwell for each of the 14,718 "houses" or pattas actually counted, and not for each of the six "divisions" or tenements of a house to which he applied that number. Just as in calculating the area covered by each patta-holder Holwell got confused and, instead of dividing the area (5,472 bighas) by the houses (9,451), he reversed the process, and by dividing the number of houses by the area, obtained a wrong and exaggerated figure for the area covered by each house, which should have been 11 cottas only instead of 1 bigha and 15 cottas as arrived at by him, even so did he, it would seem, towards the end of his calculations, mistake the tenement for the house and multiply the total subdivisions of each house, instead of each house by the number returned for the population of each house. This confusion is almost patent on the face of it from the way he arrives at his figures.^(a) He begins by calculating the number of houses and the number of persons per house: after arriving at a certain result in regard

^(a) Holwell's *Tracts*, 3rd edition, page 209.

to these, he abruptly abandons the whole calculation, and bases his estimates for population afresh and quite apart from his previous data, upon the *area*, that is, the number of bighas, covered by each house. Thus he gets—

$$5,472 + 3,050 = 8,522 \text{ bighas in the whole settlement.}$$

$$8,522 \times 8 \text{ (house-holder plus number of tenants under him)} = 51,132.$$

$$51,132 \times 8 \text{ (number of persons per "house")} = 409,056.$$

It thus seems fairly certain that the original mistake by which he arrived at a much larger area for each house than really appertained to it, was responsible for his subsequent mistake in calculating the population. He knew perfectly well, from actual observation, that in native huts covering such a large area as $1\frac{1}{2}$ bighas there could not possibly be such a small number as eight persons only, and this knowledge apparently contributed to the mistake. Had his initial calculation of the area covered by each house been correct, he would not, in all probability, have been led into the error which he undoubtedly committed.

The actual population "agreeably to the best information he had acquired", should have been—14,718 houses \times 8 (persons per house) = 117,744, instead of 409,056, the figure arrived at by him "agreeably to his exactest judgment."

Thus interpreted, the population of Calcutta, censused by Holwell in 1752, was one lakh, seventeen thousand, seven hundred and forty-four souls.

Although this population was distributed between 14,718 houses, standing with their compounds upon an area of 9,255 bighas, it would be a mistake, for purposes of comparison, to say that it was *distributed* over that area only. We have already seen in the previous chapter that, between 1742 and 1756 the area of the town, inclusive of unsettled land and jungle within the boundary of the Mahratta Ditch, was 3,229 acres or 9,687 bighas. There was thus jungle and unsettled land in Govindapur, between Chowringhee and the river, exclusive of the large area south of the site marked out for the ditch, covering 412 bighas. To these 9,687 bighas we must add the entire area of John Nagore, consisting of mauzas Baniapooker, Tangra, Pagladanga and Dhallanda, which was, as far as we can ascertain by the map of Dihi Panchannagram extant, about 3,900 bighas. And the area not enclosed by the Mahratta Ditch that lay in Govindapur, south of the line marked out for the ditch in 1742 was as will be seen from the last chapter, represented by the difference of the areas of the town in 1794 and 1752, and this was $4,997 - 3,229 = 1,768$ acres or 5,304 bighas. Thus Holwell's population of 117,744 souls was distributed over an area of $9,687 + 3,900 + 5,304$ or 18,891 bighas or 6,297 acres. This gives an average of about 18.5 persons to the acre which is very near the present average density of the Cossipore-Chitpore Municipality on the north of the town. We do not think the accuracy of this density can be questioned on the ground of improbability. It must be remembered, too, that Holwell calculated the "constant inhabitants without reckoning the multitude that daily come in and return, but yet who add to the consumption of the place," and further that women and children were included in his estimate of 8 souls per "house."

The population estimated by Grandpré, Martin, the Police Committee, the Magistrates, Sir Edward Hyde, and the East India Gazetteer in the years 1789, 1796, 1800, 1802, 1814 and 1815 appear *prima facie* to have been mere guesses at the day-population of the town, in all of which Holwell's wrong and exaggerated estimate was undoubtedly a determining factor. None of the five later calculations seem to have taken note of the fact that by the Government notification of 1794, the inland boundary of the town had been fixed generally to be the Mahratta Ditch, and that, therefore, the "out-towns" of Baniapooker, Tangra, Pagladanga and Dhallanda, the population of which had been included in Holwell's calculation, lay beyond town. Besides, in their calculations, no attempt was made to distinguish the resident population of the town from its day-population, or the population of boats and steamers in the harbour of Calcutta from that of the town-lands. Indeed, Martin's indication of the prosperity of the town, by a reference to the dealings of some of the commercial houses to the amount of two crores of rupees annually, points to his including the population of the port in his estimate, and it is by no means clear that the population of Howrah and Sulkea, and other adjacent parts, outside of the town which "added to the consumption of the place" was excluded.

Four surveyors were appointed in 1819 for surveying the town, under the superintendence of Mr. Laprimandye. They counted the number of premises in the town which aggregated 67,519 and assessed them at a sum of Rs. 2,66,000 per annum. They returned the resident population at 179,917 souls, most probably an accurate figure; but, judged by the previous estimate of Holwell—an estimate which had indeed become the fixed standard for gauging the population of the town, their figures were discredited in their own office, and the Magistrates by whom they were employed assumed an average number of persons in an average house of each kind, *i.e.*, 16 for upper-roomed pukka houses, 8 for lower-roomed houses, and 11 for 8 huts, tiled or thatched. It is rather remarkable that, although in common with the public, they rejected the figures of population furnished by the assessors, they should have adopted as the basis of their calculation, the "statements" of the very same assessors and stamped these as authentic. What they probably did was to strike an average for each class of buildings in a number of definite areas, the figures for which had been tested. Even by this calculation, they obtained no more than 230,552 persons for the whole town.^(a) To this they added a lakh, said to have been counted by peons and sirkars stationed at the principal entrances to the Town, as the number of daily incomers for business. But the public were still so doubtful of the correctness of the census that *John Ball*, the mouthpiece of the local public of the time, found it necessary to explain the shortness of even this increased estimate of the Magistrates, so strong a hold had Holwell's population figures taken on the minds of its constituents. In its issue of the 8th August 1822 it says:—

"The great difference between this total amount and former estimates is very striking, and a general opinion prevailed that the population could not but exceed the total returned by the assessors. But it has been ascertained that the extent of Calcutta from the Mahratta Ditch at the northern extremity, to the Circular Road at the southern circuit of Chowringhee, is not more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and that its average breadth is only one mile-and-a-half. The lower or southern division of the town, which comprises Chowringhee, is but thinly peopled; the houses of Europeans widely scattered, and Colinga, which is a part of it, is chiefly occupied by natives. The division between Dhurrumtolla and Bow Bazar has a denser population; it comprises the most thickly inhabited European part of Calcutta as well as a great number of country-born Christians, who reside in the town with their families. The northern division, between the Bow Bazar and Maabooa Bazar, comprises perhaps the most dense part of the population of Calcutta. The upper division to the north of Maabooa Bazar is, comparatively speaking, but thinly covered with habitations, presenting towards the north and east, extensive gardens, large tanks, and ruinous habitations. It is not improbable, therefore, that the large estimates made of the population of Calcutta at former periods may be owing to the crowds of artisans, labourers, servants and sirkars, and to the numerous stragglers of every country which constantly meet the eye in every part of the town."

In the census of 1831 taken by Captain Steel, the result established was that the town contained 70,076 houses and 187,081 inhabitants. This was most probably a correct census. But Holwell's figures, and the figures of those who had followed Holwell, scared him, and he went to repudiate the accuracy of his own census-statement in the following terms:—"By the result I would say that no calculation had been made of women and children or servants," although the statement itself contained a column headed "servant" which was filled up; and he proceeded to multiply his results for pukka buildings, tiled houses and thatched huts by 10, 6 and 4, respectively, in order to arrive at a total of 410,930 "which is," he states, "much nearer the old calculation."

For the first time in 1837 did Captain Birch, Police Superintendent, rise superior to the nightmare of Holwell's calculation. He estimated the total population of the town to be 229,714. This figure was accepted by Mr. J. H. Stoequeler in his *Handbook of India* published in 1844, and also in 1840 by the Fever Hospital Committee who, however, added a daily influx of a lakh of people according to the estimate of the Magistrates in 1821.

The figure for population arrived at by Simms was a mere estimate based upon an enumeration of residents in 1,036 "native" houses in different parts of the town and 357 pukka houses. He apparently followed the lines laid down by the Magistrates in 1821. We need hardly say, bearing in mind the very opposite conditions of residence prevailing in different parts of the same quarters in the town, not to say in different quarters, that such an estimate was bound to

(a) $5,420 \times 16 = 86,720 + 8,800 \times 8 = 70,400 + \frac{15,792}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2} = 21,714 + \frac{37,497}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2} = 51,558$. Total 230,552

persons in 67,519 houses. See Appendix page 67.

go wrong. And so it did. The Chief Magistrate found the population in 1850 to be 413,183 souls within the town proper. It is probable, as suggested by Mr. Beverley in his Census Report of 1876, that this census took note of the population of the water-area and of the port. The Census Officer of 1891, however, has taken a different view.^(a)

The next census in 1866 reduced the figure to 358,662, but the census of 1872 returned the population of the town alone to be 428,458 souls, while that of 1876 showed it at the lower figure of 409,036 for the same area. From the Census Reports for 1876 and 1881, it would appear that the figures for 1850 and 1872 were not accepted as accurate.

We need not refer here to the population censused in 1881, 1891 and 1901, as they are discussed in detail in the Census Report for 1901.

With the increase of population, the revenues of the town advanced. The following figures show the town revenues from all sources in the different periods of its development. They demonstrate that the increase in the revenues has scarcely ever borne any definite ratio to the increase of population, and that, ever since real Municipal Government, with its systematic assessments and sanitary improvements, has been effective, the revenues of the town have increased by leaps and bounds:—

	Ground rent.	Other amounts including rates and taxes.	Total.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1694	300 ^(b)	600	900
1698	480	960	1,440
1704	1,920	3,840	5,760
1708	4,040	8,080	12,120
1710	5,480	10,960	16,440
1752	16,316	30,264	46,570
1757	17,030	90,101	1,07,131
1762	17,744	97,030	1,14,774
1785	17,872	1,04,546	1,22,418
1821	18,000 ^(c)	2,66,000	2,84,000
1836	19,011	3,43,300	3,62,311
1850	24,167 ^(d)	3,95,000	4,19,167
1875	24,029	21,55,500	21,79,529
1876	24,029	25,43,216	25,67,245
1881	25,284	26,50,350	26,75,634
1891	19,392	45,68,085	45,87,477 ^(e)
1901	19,113	57,67,467	57,86,580 ^(e)

A few of the more important statistical details of the old censuses of Calcutta will give a better idea of the gradual progress of the town than either maps or the statements of travellers. Unfortunately details of all the years for which population figures are available are not forthcoming, and we have had to fall back, in a few cases, on conjecture for dividing the total population amongst the various classes. There is considerable room for difference of opinion as to the accuracy of our distribution of the total population for the years 1710 and 1752 among the different religions and races. We do not claim for our figures anything more than a probable approximation to correctness, in the light of the materials that have been made available, chiefly through the labours of Wilson, Beverley, Hyde and other distinguished writers, that have preceded us in the same field of enquiry. Such as they are, however, the figures are submitted to the public for what they are worth. It is hoped that in judging of their value, it will be borne in mind that the apparent decrease in any year of any one class of figures, compared to a previous year, may sometimes be due to its distribution over two or three allied classes of which better knowledge had been gained with advancing years, than to a real diminution in the numerical strength of that class. For example, the smaller number of Europeans shown in 1876, as compared with that of 1866, signifies most probably a more careful enumeration of Eurasians who show a corresponding increase and should not be understood to mean a real diminution in the

(a) See Mr. Maguire's *Census Report for Calcutta, 1891*, page 16.

(b) The rent is assumed to be $\frac{1}{3}$ of the total revenue up to 1710.

(c) Approximate.

(d) Under Act XXIII of 1850 holdings are redeemable by a payment of 25 times the annual rent. As many holdings have been thus redeemed, the revenues no longer give any indication of the ground occupied.

(e) Includes the revenues of the added area.

actual number of resident Europeans. Again, the gradual diminution in the total number of houses in the earlier years is an indication of the progressive replacement of clusters of straw huts in bustees by single tiled huts or pukka houses. Large fluctuations in house numbers, not due to steady progress, are no doubt to be attributed to different methods of counting "houses." Holwell, we have seen, counted his houses differently from his enumerators in 1752. He counted each tenement, *i.e.*, the residence of each family as a unit house, while his enumerators calculated all the huts in one compound as a house. Similar difference in the reckoning of houses has marked the censusing of huts at each stage.⁽⁴⁾ Leaving, however, these details out of consideration, the tables appended will, it is hoped, assist the formation of a fairly definite idea of the scale of development of the town in each of the periods noted. They show, if read in connection with the list of the town-revenues, that in less than 200 years, British enterprise has converted a malarial swamp containing a population of no more than 12,000 persons and yielding a revenue of less than a thousand rupees, into a flourishing city of the first rank, with a population of more than half a million souls and yielding a revenue of above five millions of rupees. We learn further from these figures, that during this period, and within the limits of the old town, Hindus have increased forty-eight times, Mahomedans nearly seventy-five times, Europeans nearly thirty times, Eurasians nearly eighty-fold, Armenians nearly seventy-fold, while Native Christians are nearly one hundred and fifty-five times as numerous as they were at the commencement of this period. Many foreign nations who would perhaps, but for the English, have never thought of settling down here, have taken advantage of the beneficent protection of the British Government under which they have thriven and multiplied largely. It will be observed that the population grew up most rapidly in the early years of British rule, multiplying nearly ten-fold during the 40 years 1710 to 1750. Since 1751, however, its growth has been, generally speaking, comparatively steady, being 52 per cent. only in the next 70 years, about 110 per cent. in the succeeding 45 years, and about 52 per cent. only in the following 35 years, of which 24 per cent. represents the increase during the last decade, so that during the previous quarter of a century, the growth of the population barely exceeded 1 per cent. per annum.

When read in connection with the figures for houses given in the previous Chapter, the house statistics appended will show that, although the population in the old town area has increased, on the whole, about 50 times in about two centuries, the number of houses has increased only 11 times during the same period. It will also appear that the increase in the number of houses during the last century has been only 14 per cent. although the population has multiplied itself no less than 5 times. The excess population has been, to some extent, accommodated by the enlargement of houses in length, width and altitude. But this enlargement has been altogether disproportionate to the necessities of the increased population. Even in more modern years, buildings have multiplied at a much slower rate than population. While pukka buildings have increased from 14,230 in 1821 to 38,574 in 1901, *i.e.*, by 173 per cent. only, and huts have decreased from 53,289 to 40,007, the population has increased from nearly one lakh and eighty thousand to close upon six lakhs, *i.e.*, by nearly 233 per cent. And yet upper-roomed houses have not increased to quite three times their number, the increase being only 185 per cent., while the number of houses containing three stories and upwards is still a *quantite negligible*, being less than 3,500 in all. It must be remembered that the large and lofty edifices which have won for the town the name of City of Palaces are, generally speaking, not residential houses but public buildings, offices or shops, and that residential buildings have changed but little in height or superficial area. It, therefore, follows that house accommodation has not, even as regards number, kept pace with the progress of the population over the entire area of the old town. It is, therefore, not matter for surprise that there should be considerable over-crowding in the oldest-populated areas, such, for example, as Burra-bazar and Colootolah, particularly when it is remembered that the "house" of the Census of 1901 is but a fractional part of the "house" as understood in 1850, very nearly as a "house" of Holwell's census was a fraction of that of his enumerators.

(4) See Beverly's Census Report for Calcutta 1876 and 1881, and the remarks on this subject in the Census Report of 1901.

APPENDIX.

Progressive growth of population by religion of the old town.

	1710.(a)	1752.(d)	1831.	1837.	1850.(e)	1866.(b)	1878.	1881.	1891.(c)	1901.
Hindus	8,000	75,396	118,703	136,735	274,506	346,365(?)	378,224	379,152	331,386	336,562
Muslims	2,150	37,548	48,162	55,322	111,179	105,667(?)	123,556	194,430	110,972	152,900
Christians	200	400	3,005	3,268	7,584	11,254(?)	2,335	13,611	10,071	9,567
	1,600	3,900	9,287	7,927	4,660	11,036	11,273	8,881	7,776	12,127
	100	250	720	636	892	703	707	692	456	804
		50	125	104	550	1,441	2,694	2,216	3,470	7,866
Burmese	---	---	---	683.(g)	850	---	871.(g)	378	674	1,338
Chinese	---	---	414	362	347	409.(h)	800	676	771	1,466
Parsons	---	---	---	49	100	98	151	141	143	274
Jews	---	---	---	307	600	681	952	982	1,374	1,809
Others	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	522	1,919	3,236
Total	12,000	117,744	170,917	229,714	410,063	577,924	629,535	623,219	500,522	577,066

Progressive development of houses in the old town since 1794.

YEAR AND AUTHORITY.	HOUSES.			HUTS.			Total.
	One-storied.	Upper-roomed.	Total.	Tiled.	Thatched.	Total.	
1793	---	---	---	---	---	---	75,760
1821	---	---	---	---	---	---	67,519
1831	---	---	15,308	19,419	35,354	54,773	70,076
1837	---	---	14,623	20,304	30,667(?)	50,871	65,494
1850	5,918	7,170	13,078	48,314	---	48,314	61,392
1866	7,318	8,704	16,022	43,575	---	43,575	60,597
1872	---	---	20,443	18,421	---	18,421	38,864
1876	7,037	9,869	16,896	22,860	---	22,860	39,756
1881	6,879	11,105	17,984	30,667	---	30,667	38,651
1891	---	---	31,613	24,191	---	24,191	45,804
1901	22,176	16,393	38,574	49,007	---	49,007	87,581

Progressive expansion of pukka houses in the old town in number and altitude.

	One-storied.	Two-storied.	Three-storied.	Four-storied.	Five-storied.
1850	5,950	6,438	721	10	1
1876	7,037	8,636	1,187	34	2
1881	6,879	9,618	1,426	59	2
1901	22,176	12,976	3,104	298	21

YEAR.	PUKKA HOUSES.			HUTS.		HUTS.	
	Upper-roomed.	Lower-roomed.	Godowns and shops.	Tiled.	Shops.	Straw.	Shops.
1837	6,376	4,839	6,325	16,043	1,545	30,077	1,385
1901	16,268	14,063	9,233	41,113	7,724	---	---

(a) In terms of the classification of the population in 1837 the 16,424 other Asiatics of this year have been divided as follows:—

10,000 low-caste Hindus.	550 Burmese.
3,454 Arabie Moghals and Pathans.	100 Parsons.
550 Native Christians.	600 Jews.

(b) From this year onwards the figures include the population of the Port and Fort.

(c) The figures of this year and 1901 include the population of the Port and Fort, but exclude that of the area added to the town in 1883.

(d) Details conjectured, regard being had to the number of soldiers and factors employed, to the number of houses found in maps and descriptions of the town and to the proportion of races found at subsequent periods; and also to the fact that no more than 514 persons of whom only 174 were Europeans were available for the defence of the settlement in 1767.

(e) Only males.

(f) All non-Asiatics.

(g) Including Nagas.

(h) Including Portuguese.

(i) Thatched huts were prohibited by an Act of this year.

CHAPTER X.

MUNICIPAL AND SANITARY.

IN 1690, Job Charnock issued a proclamation permitting persons desirous of living in Chuttanutte to erect houses at their pleasure, on any site they chose, in any portion of the waste lands belonging to the Company. People have found fault with this proclamation, but it is necessary to remember that, except a small portion on the river-bank, the whole area around the settlement was waste and jungle, and that an inducement of the kind was a *sine qua non* for attracting a population. When a sufficient population had gathered round the settlement, attention was directed to its unhealthy surroundings, and sanitation was not altogether ignored as has often been said. As early as 1704, the Council ruled that the amounts realised from fines levied upon the "black inhabitants" for misconduct, should be expended in filling up and obliterating the foul pits and ditches that abounded in the settlement. The origin of the Calcutta Police can also be traced as far back as the 8th February 1704, when it was ordered in Council "that one chief peon, and forty-five peons, two chubdas (chobdars), and twenty gwallis (gowallās) be taken into pay." Next year in July, "there having been several robberies committed in the Black Town, (it was) ordered that a corporal and six soldiers be sent to lodge in the Catwall's (kotwal's) house, to be upon call to prevent the like in future." But the Police force could not check the progress of increasing crimes and nuisances, and thefts and robberies and nuisances of all kinds became so very prevalent that the Council ordered, in the following years an additional force of thirty-one paiks "to be organised to protect the public against them."

On the 10th of March 1707, the erection of irregular buildings was forbidden. Finding that several of the inhabitants had built walls and dug tanks in their compounds without leave from the Government at Fort William, the Council resolved that an "order be wrote up and put up at the gate to forbid all such irregular proceedings for the future." This order appears, however, to have remained a dead letter. About this period, viz., from 1705 to 1707, the place reeked with malaria and the mortality was so high that "in one year, out of twelve hundred English in Calcutta, no less than four hundred and sixty died between August and the January following."

"No direct confirmation of this terrible mortality bill," says Wilson, "is to be found in the records, but both in August 1705, when the second surgeon was appointed to assist Dr. Warren, and in October 1707, when it was resolved to build a hospital, we are informed that the sick and dying were superabundant."

The Fort being very much "choked and close set with trees and small country thatched houses and standing pools of stinking water," the Council ordered the *Buzi* ^(a) in the month of August 1710, to open the way directly before the Fort, filling up all the holes and cutting small trenches on each side to carry the water clear from the adjacent places into the large drains.

In 1727 a Corporation consisting of a mayor and nine aldermen, with a mayor's court was established, of which the famous Zephaniah Holwell, *zamindar* of Calcutta, was afterwards president. ^(b) The duty of the *zamindar* of Calcutta was not merely to collect ground rents and town duties, but also to "make necessary repairs in roads and drains." ^(c) But the amount spent annually on these repairs was insignificant, and, although the population went on increasing, but few actual reforms were achieved by this Corporation for the sanitation of the town. We often hear of its great unhealthiness and of the

(a) The "Bukshi" is a *zamindar's* *swishta* is a person of lower rank than the *Naiib* who is agent and rent-collector, but is one of the chief ministerial officers next in rank. The English in their early days followed the practice of the *zamindars* in naming their officers. Their "Bukshia" was a junior factor and a covenanted servant and not a petty native clerk as the name would now signify. Their "*zamindar*" was similarly a higher official and was Mayor, Magistrate, Collector and Settlement Officer.

(b) *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XVIII; Calcutta in the olden times—its localities.

(c) *Beverley's Report on the Census of Calcutta, 1875*, page 41.

ineffectual attempts made from time to time to improve it during the period of the zamindar's control of the town revenues. Substantial and lasting sanitary or municipal works were really not undertaken, until the Justices of the Peace were appointed in 1794, or to be more precise, until the year 1817, when the Lottery Committee was formed.

In 1749, a few rupees only were deemed sufficient "to make the drains *sweet* and wholesome."^(a) In 1752, the jungle near Calcutta was ordered "to be burnt down to be used for burning bricks."^(b) In 1750, we find the "wharf to Sutanuti market washed away by the river," and the Council ordered the local zamindar, Mr. Edward Eyle, "to rebuild the same by taxing the merchants in proportion to their ground."^(c) The merchants refused to pay local taxation for roads. The Council sent fresh orders to get the road repaired on the understanding that "the merchants' accounts current were to be debited with the amount."^(d) In 1751 the zamindar was directed "to cut down all the old trees and underwood in and about the town."^(e) In 1753 the Council informed the Hon'ble the Court of Directors that the zamindar had been ordered "to survey the drains about the town" and then "to put the same in execution as this was the most effectual method for making the settlement sweet and wholesome."^(f) "Complaints were made in 1755 that owing to the washing of people and horses in the great tank"^(g) it had become very offensive. In 1757 the settlement fell a prey to a severe epidemic, and Major Carnac complained bitterly to Clive of its unhealthiness for the troops, and an order was passed that no troops were to be landed in Calcutta.^(h) In the course of the same year an ineffectual attempt was made to organise a municipal fund by "levying a house-tax of two or three lakhs of rupees to defray the expense of cleansing and ornamenting the place internally."⁽ⁱ⁾ This was in addition to a revenue before collected (exclusive of the customs or port duties) of 1,10,000 sicca rupees, of which about one-third under the head of chowkidari or police-tax went to retain "an undisciplined battalion of thanadars and peons which constituted the only established guard or night watch of the city."^(j)

The statistics of the Calcutta Hospital during the years 1757-58, as furnished by Ives, show how extremely unhealthy the town was:—

"Between February 8th and August 8th of that year (1757). 1,140 patients recovered; of those, 54 were for scurvy, 302 bilious fevers, and 58 bilious colic; 52 men buried. Between 7th August and 7th November, 717 fresh patients were taken in; of those, 147 were in putrid fevers, and 155 in putrid fluxes; 101 were buried." * *

The rains were the deadly time in Calcutta, particularly for new arrivals. Ships' crew in the river then used to lose one-fourth of their number, or 300 men annually, chiefly owing, however, to their exposure to night fogs.^(k)

In 1760 there were but few good roads in Calcutta; the *kutchra* road that ran to Baraset was the favourite walk of the populace, and "the river answered the purposes of trade as well as of exercise in boats with bands of music in attendance."^(l) The scavenger and the scavenging establishment for the town were most insufficiently paid, for we read in the proceedings of the Council of April 21st, 1760, that Mr. Handle was granted a further allowance of Rs. 20 per mensem as scavenger, making his total monthly salary Rs. 80. In 1762 an order was issued to clear the town of jungle and several new roads were constructed and an establishment for supervising them was organised.^(m) The surveyors proposed a plan of facing the drains and ditches of the new roads

(a) *Beverley's Report on the Census of Calcutta for the year 1876*, page 41.

(b) *Long's Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government* Vol. I, No. 106; Despatch to Court, August 20, 1752.

(c) *Ibid*; Despatch to Court, January 27, 1750 and the same, August 10, 1750.

(d) *Ibid*, ditto, August 10, 1750.

(e) *Beverley's Report on the Census of Calcutta for the year 1876*, page 41.

(f) *Long's Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government*, Vol. I, No. 12, Despatch to Court, January 13, 1763.

(g) *Ibid*, proceedings of the Court, June 1758.

(h) *Ibid*, ditto, August 1757.

(i) *Beverley's Report on the Census of Calcutta for the year 1876*, page 42.

(j) *Ibid*, page 42.

(k) *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXV, page 170. Calcutta in the olden times—its people.

(l) *Long's Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government*; proceedings of the Court, 1760.

(m) *Ibid*, proceedings of the Court, July 12, 1762.

with brick, but it was rejected as too expensive, and they were ordered to be sloped instead.^(a)

Doctors were few and badly paid, and badly educated; the two eminent ones were Holwell and Fullarton, and so, when in 1782 another epidemic visited the settlement, it is said to have carried away 50,000 'blacks' and 800 Europeans.^(b)

During 1764 great complaints were made of the negligence and peculation of the doctors in the hospital; an order was in consequence passed that Members of Council should visit the hospital in rotation.^(c) The hospital stood in the old fort, designed chiefly for the military; but in 1766 as the burial ground in its neighbourhood was found very detrimental to the health of the inhabitants (it contained 14,000 corpses in all stages of decay), it was resolved to have both a new hospital and a new burial-ground. It was proposed at first to have the hospital on Sumatra Island, opposite Surman's garden, but it was subsequently fixed near Alipore.^(d) In the Council's proceedings of 31st March 1766 are recorded the estimates for hospitals, roads, bridges, &c., and it is to be hoped that these were not exhaustive of the year's budget of Public Works for Calcutta and its vicinity. These estimates were signed and submitted by a Mr. J. Fortnum, "Civil Architect," from the New Fort on the 10th of March of that year, and they were as follows:—

	Rs.
^(e) To take down the old hospital and clear away the rubbish, &c. ...	500
" 2 watercourses in the Sambazar road ...	250
" 2 bridges in the Dullanda road ...	1,000
" 1 watercourse in the Chitpore road ...	125
" 2 new bridges in the Dundama road ...	1,500
" 2 " " in the Baraset road ...	1,500
" 3 " " in the Bellegatta road ...	1,800
" 1 watercourse in the Chowringhee road ...	125
" 28 small bridges and watercourses in Calcutta ...	3,000
Total ...	9,700

It will be observed that while the Dullanda road obtains sanction for an expenditure of Rs. 1,000 for two bridges, the Chowringhee Road gets Rs. 125 for its watercourse. This watercourse was merely a shallow drain on the side of the katcha "road to Collegot." More importance was attached in those days to facility of communication with Dum-Dum and Baraset than to the internal or sanitary arrangements of the town or its environs.

On May 13th, 1766, on account of the scarcity of workmen, chiefly bricklayers and carpenters, the Council ordered some regulations to be made for the registration of bricklayers, and on June 20th, 1766, they resolved to have a Surveyor of the roads.^(f)

At this time (namely, 1760-80) the roads in and about Calcutta were very bad; that along the river did not yet exist. The 'course' was the only drive, but the dust, for which it was remarkable, tempered the enjoyment of an airing taken there. Many resorted to the river for its cooling breeze, though its surface and its banks must have presented many unsavoury sights.^(g) The ditch to the east of the fort, which contained the bodies of those who perished in the Black Hole, was filled up in 1766, a great boon to health, for, like the Marhatta Ditch, it had become a receptacle of all the filth and garbage of Calcutta.^(h)

For change of air Europeans resorted, either down the river in a pilot brig, to the Birkul bungalows, or up to Chandernagore, Suksagar and Kasimbazar. The European inhabitants had begun as early as 1746 to settle at Chowringhee. But the houses in Chowringhee which now form a continuous line, were widely detached from each other and "out of town." "Asiaticus"

^(a) Long's *Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government*; proceedings of the Court, 1762.

^(b) *Ibid*; proceedings of the Court, 1784.

^(c) *Ibid*; proceedings of the Court, 1764.

^(d) *Ibid*; proceedings of the Court, 1766.

^(e) Long's *Selections from Unpublished Records of Government*, No. 845.

^(f) *Ibid*; proceedings of the Court, June 20, 1766.

^(g) *Notes from Old Calcutta*, page 125.

^(h) Long's *Selections from Unpublished Records of Government*; proceedings of the Court, 1766.

whose writings about ancient Calcutta in the local press served as the nucleus round which more modern research has accreted, thus speaks of the town of Calcutta:—

"Calcutta is near three leagues in circumference, and is so irregularly built that it looks as if the houses had been placed wherever chance directed. The bazars or markets, which stand in the middle of the town, are streets of miserable huts."⁽¹⁾

In order to avoid the pestilential air of Calcutta, the higher English officials lived in garden-houses at different localities up and down the river, e.g., Clive at Dum-Dum, Sir William Jones at Garden Reach, Sir R. Chambers at Bhawanipur, General Dickenson at Dakshineswar, etc., etc. Very old houses in Calcutta were built much on the plan of ovens, with the doors and windows very small; they had, however, spacious, lofty, and substantial verandahs.⁽²⁾

A terrible famine visited Calcutta in the year 1770, the greatest of all that ever fell to the lot of its people, and it swept away about one-third of the population. The settlement suffered severely from this, and according to Mr. Hickey,⁽³⁾ between the 15th July and 10th September no less than 76,000 men perished in the streets of Calcutta.

About 1777 the unhealthy condition of Calcutta became notorious. Few of the Judges of the Supreme Court escaped the fever.

"Sir E. Impey, Chief Justice," writes Mr. Justice Hyde in his Court diary, "was absent (from Court) by reason of illness, Sir Robert Chambers was also absent. Yesterday the fever began with him. I (John Hyde) have had the fever, and am not yet perfectly free from the consequences."⁽⁴⁾

Calcutta at this time (1780) was little better than an undrained swamp, in the immediate vicinity of a malarious jungle, "the ditch surrounding it was, as it had been for thirty years previously, an open cloaca, and its river banks were strewn with the dead bodies of men and animals."⁽⁵⁾ From 1780 and onwards correspondents in the newspapers make frequent complaints about the indescribably filthy condition of the streets and roads. This is fully confirmed by the account of Grandpré in 1790, who speaks of the canals and cesspools reeking with putrifying animal matter, of the streets as awful, of the myriads of flies, and of the crowd and flocks of animals and birds acting as scavengers. Often the police authorities are reproached for suffering dead human bodies to lie on the roads in and near Calcutta for two or three days.⁽⁶⁾ In the time of Hastings and Francis, and for a long time after, dacoity and highway-robbery, close to the seat of Government, were exceedingly prevalent. The native inhabitants on the roads leading to the Boitakhana tree were, we are told, in such general alarm of dacoits that from eight or nine o'clock at night they fired off matchlock guns till daybreak, at intervals, to the great annoyance of the neighbouring Europeans. Murders were common and one of the roads of the quarter—Fordyce's Lane—is still known by its old name of "*Golakāid gully*." No one, it is said, could pass by that road at night without having his *thrut cut*. A correspondent writing in 1780 about the Portuguese burial-ground, "where annually were interred, upon a medium, no less than four hundred dead bodies," says that these bodies were generally buried without coffins, and in graves dug so exceedingly shallow as not to admit of their being covered with much more than a foot and-a-half of earth, and a heavy fall of rain caused them to appear above ground. Fever, ague, tumours, "barbers," a disease common to the lower classes of Europeans, a species of palsy, fevers accompanied with violent fits, bilious or putrid fluxes and several other diseases were prevalent in Calcutta in the 18th century.⁽⁷⁾ Respecting the mortality of Europeans in Calcutta, it is difficult to get accurate statistics. Hamilton has stated, as we have seen, that in 1707 there were about 1,200 Europeans in Calcutta, but in the following January 460 were buried. This figure is higher than that of any year up to 1800. In 1760, 305 died; the 18th century gives an average of 164 annually.⁽⁸⁾

(1) *The Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXV, page 198.

(2) *Ibid.* *Ibid.*

(3) Editor of a scurrilous paper called *Hickey's Gazette*.

(4) *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, pages 187-89.

(5) *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, pages 187-89 and foot-note.

(6) *Ibid.*, pages 187-89 and foot-note.

(7) *Ibid.* *Ibid.*

(8) *Calcutta in the Olden Times—its people in the Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXV, page 172.

Atkinson's poem on the sanitary condition of Calcutta throws a lurid light on the municipal arrangements of the town till so late a period as 1780 :—

" Calcutta, what was thy condition then ?
 " An anxious, forced existence, and thy site
 " Embowering jungle and noxious fen,
 " Fatal to many a bold aspiring wight ;
 " On every side tall trees shut out the sight ;
 " And like the upas, noisome vapours shed ;
 " Day blazed with heat intense, and murky night
 " Brought damps excessive, and a feverish bed ;
 " The revellers at eve were in the morning dead ! " (a)

There is mention in *Hickey's Gazette* for 1781 of a proposal submitted to the Board by a Colonel Campbell for cleaning and draining the town on an estimate of two lakhs of rupees per annum. The Board declined the Colonel's plan, and actually imposed or intended to impose what was then described as a "stupendous tax" of from 7 to 14 per cent. on landed property for the same object. (b)

No wonder that the Europeans gradually migrated from the Belgravia of that day—Tank Square—and took up their abode in Chowringhee out of town and that orders of the Police Commissioner should issue, as they did in the *Calcutta Gazette* of Thursday, August 26th, 1784 for "remission of taxes" of the rate-payers. (c)

The complaints of the public for inefficient Police control of nuisances and thefts did not pass unheeded. On Thursday, June 9th, 1785, a notice was issued by the Commissioner of Police, who "found it necessary to make sundry alterations in the mode of conducting the duties of scavengers of the town of Calcutta." (d) This notice requests the inhabitants of Calcutta to attend to the following "regulations," which were made with the approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council :— (e)

- I. The town was divided into 31 divisions, there being as many thanadars.
- II. For the several thanas of the English town, four carts were stationed at each, bearing the number of their respective thanas. Two carts were allotted to each thana in the Black Town.
- III. All applications were to be made to the Superintendent's officers in each thana, and, in case of their inattention or neglect, to the Superintendent at his office.
- IV. The regulations extant with respect to laying dirt and rubbish in the streets were to be strictly enforced.

The following were the sections or thanas into which Calcutta was divided :— (f)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Armenian Church. | 17. Cobar Dinger (Gobardanga). |
| 2. Old Fort. | 18. Bytakhannah. |
| 3. Chandpaul Ghat. | 19. Sham Pookernah (Shampooken). |
| 4. South of the Great Tank. | 20. Soam Bazar (Shambazar). |
| 5. Dhurumtollah. | 21. Pudda Pookereah (Puddopooker). |
| 6. Old Court House. | 22. Coomar Tully (Coomertooly). |
| 7. Dumtulla (Domtooly). | 23. Jora Sanko (Jorasanko). |
| 8. Anuragully and Panchanund Tulla (Panchanantala). | 24. Mutchua Bazar (Machuahazar). |
| 9. China Bazar. | 25. Jaun Bazar. |
| 10. Chandnee Choks. | 26. Dinga Bangah (Dingabhangah). |
| 11. Trul Bazar. | 27. Sootanuty Haut Colla (Satanuti-Hatkhola). |
| 12. Gouli Mah Pokar. | 28. Duoy Hattah (Dahihatta). |
| 13. Churook Danga (Charakdanga). | 29. Hansee Pookriah (Hanspooker). |
| 14. Simla Bazar. | 30. Colimbah (Colingah). |
| 15. Tuntuneh Bazar. | 31. Jora Bagan (Jorabagan). |
| 16. Molungah and Putoolidanga (Patal-dangah). | |

(a) *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXV, page 168.

(b) *Reveries's Report on the Census of Calcutta*, 1878, page 43.

(c) *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XX XV, page 188.

(d) Proceedings of the Court, June 9th, 1785, from *Saton Carr's Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*.

(e) *Saton Carr's Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. I, page 115.

(f) *Ibid*, Vol. I, pages 115 and 116.

In spite of these arrangements, however, the street nuisances continued unabated. In the *Calcutta Gazette* of Thursday, October 19th, 1786, it is again announced that "the nuisances in the streets are of late loudly and generally complained of. Dirt and rubbish of every kind are permitted to lie before the doors of the inhabitants in a most slovenly and offensive manner."^(a)

These and similar Press notices of the prevailing unhealthiness and insecurity of different parts of the town put the authorities on the alert, and they planned and effected various little improvements. Some old drains were filled up and the wretched old bazar in the Fort—the ancient Govindapur bazar of mud and thatch—was demolished. In the *Gazette* of Thursday, August 30th, 1787, the following paragraph occurs in respect of these improvements:—

"The old bazar composed of an irregular and confused heap of straw huts, not only collected filth and threatened contagion, but proved in fact an asylum for every thief that escaped the hands of justice in Calcutta: robberies were, of course, daily committed without the possibility of detection." The Commandant has also laid a plan before Government, which has been approved, for filling up the drains, particularly those more obnoxious ones leading from the Treasury Gate."^(b)

But these improvements fall far short of the requirements of the town. In spite of the fact that very nearly from the dawn of the eighteenth century down to the year 1793, the year of the permanent settlement, the zamindar of the town who collected the ground-rents, "was entrusted with the care of public order, convenience and health,"^(c) the success achieved in evolving order, convenience and health, had failed to keep pace with the rapid expansion of the town in area, population and houses and consequently with its ever-expanding sanitary and municipal needs. The management of the town was therefore taken off his hands, and in 1794, under a statute of George III, Justices of the Peace were appointed for the town and regular assessments authorized. The first assessment under the Act was made in 1795 by Mr. Mackay.^(d)

The Justices set to their business in real earnestness and effected various reforms. One of their first acts was the metalling of Circular Road. For this they issued on Thursday, the 24th of October, 1799, the following notice in the *Calcutta Gazette*:—^(e)

"Notice is hereby given that His Majesty's Justices of the Peace will receive proposals of contract, which must be delivered sealed to their first clerk, Mr. John Miller, within one week from this date, for levelling, dressing and making in pucker, within the least possible time, the road forming the eastern boundary of the town, commonly called the Bytockunah Road, and commencing from the Russapugla Road at the corner of Chowringhee and terminating at Chitpar Bridge."

They also paid considerable attention to the conservancy of the town, for which they invited tenders in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 17th December, 1801, for providing "eighty-five pairs of strong serviceable bullocks, with the proportional number of drivers, for the use of the carts employed under the scavengers for cleaning the streets and drains within the town of Calcutta."^(f)

Hitherto "the Justices of the Peace" had continued to collect revenues and administer them for certain purposes specified in the Act of 1794, "principally repairing, watching and clearing the streets." But at this time the filthy condition of the town had been realised, and the necessity of very radical measures to improve it clearly appreciated. Several Committees were appointed to investigate the state of the place and devise remedial measures. The first Committee was nominated in 1803, by Lord Wellesley, whose famous Minute, in which the improvement of drains, roads, streets and buildings is strongly urged, and the need of public markets, slaughter-houses, and burial-grounds forcibly pointed out, stands out, as a beacon of light in the misty path of municipal reform. He remarks that the construction of the public drains and watercourses of the town is extremely defective, and that they neither answer

(a) Seton Carr's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. I, page 159.

(b) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pages 205 and 206.

(c) Beverley's *Report on the Census of Calcutta*, 1876, page 41.

(d) *Ibid.*, page 43.

(e) Seton Carr's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. III, page 37.

(f) *Ibid.*, Vol. III, page 84.

the purpose of cleaning the town, nor of discharging the annual inundations occasioned by the rise of the river, or by the excessive fall of rain; that no general regulations at present exist with respect to the situation of public markets, or the places appropriated to the slaughter of cattle, the exposure of meat or the burial of the dead; that the irregularity of buildings should be forbidden and that streets and lanes, which have hitherto been formed without attention to the health, convenience or safety of the inhabitants, should thenceforth be constructed with order and system. Thirty members were selected to form a Town Improvement Committee to push his scheme into execution.⁽¹⁾ But the improvements advocated by them on the result of extensive enquiries, though sanctioned by Government and intended to be executed from its funds, were not all carried out. Government having in 1805 extended its patronage to the Lottery Commissioners, the funds raised by the latter were spent for improving the town, and the records of the Improvement Committee were in 1814, transferred to the Lottery Commissioners.

In 1793 the practice of raising money for public improvements by means of lotteries first came into fashion.⁽²⁾ The Commissioners for the Bengal Lottery for that year offered a large sum raised by them by means of lotteries, to the Committee of the Native Hospital, but the latter declined to receive the money which was therefore, given for the relief of insolvent debtors. The first issue of tickets was 10,000 at Rs. 32 each. The whole of this sum was, after a deduction of two per cent. for expenses, and ten per cent. to be defrayed for benevolent and charitable purposes, given away in prizes. In 1805, 5,000 tickets were issued at Rs. 1,000 each. Ten per cent. of the entire sum thus raised was taken for the Town Hall and two per cent. for expenses. In 1806, the lottery was for 7½ lakhs and so on. The proceeds of the lotteries were made over to Lord Wellesley's Town Improvement Committee so long as that Committee existed. Between 1805 and 1817 many important works were executed from funds obtained by means of these lotteries, which were under the immediate patronage of the Governor-General himself. Large tanks were dug, the Town Hall was built, the Balliaghata canal constructed, and several roads including Elliot Road were made. No less than 7½ lakhs appear to have been available for town improvements from lottery profits. In 1817 the Vice-President in Council appointed the famous 'Lottery Committee' which took over the balance of the previous 17 lotteries amounting to 4½ lakhs of rupees. This Committee looked after the affairs of the town (except as to matters relating to conservancy which remained in charge of the Magistrates as before) for a period of 20 years, i.e., down to the year 1836, when it ceased to draw. The effective measures adopted by it to make the settlement "sweet and wholesome," were greatly appreciated. It would appear that it was under the auspices of this Committee that street-watering was first introduced. The *Calcutta Gazette* of February 19th, 1818, says:—

"We observe with much satisfaction the great improvement to the convenience and comforts of the residents in Chowringhee, by the road being watered from the corner of the Dharamtollah up to the Chowringhee Theatre."⁽³⁾

It would be tedious to describe in minute detail all the works of improvement that were done by the Committee; we have space for mere mention of only the more important of them. It may be truly said that it was under the direction of the Lottery Committee that the work of reconstructing chaotic Calcutta into the decent shape of a modern town was not only inaugurated but pushed on with vigour. That handsome roadway which traverses Calcutta from north to south and includes Cornwallis Street, College Street, Wellington Street, Wellesley Street and Wood Street, was driven through the town, and the fine squares—Cornwallis Square, College Square, Wellington Square and Wellesley Square—with large tanks in their centre, were constructed at intervals along its course under the auspices of the Committee. Other streets, such as Free School Street, Kyd Street, Hastings Street, Creek Row, Mangoe Lane, and Bentinck Street, were also opened, straightened and widened by them. The maidan was improved by the construction of roads and paths, by

(1) Beverley's *Report on the Census of Calcutta*, 1176, page 45.

(2) *Ibid.* ditto, ditto, page 47.

(3) Sandeman's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. V, page 246.

the excavation of tanks, and the erection of balustrades; the Strand road was made; Colootollah Street, Amherst Street, and Mirzapore Street were laid out, and the Mirzapore tank, Soortibagan tank and several tanks in Short's Bazar were dug by the same Committee. Several roads were metalled and arrangements for watering various streets were also made by them, an engine being fixed for that purpose at Chandpāl ghāt.⁽⁴⁾

On December 28th, 1820, the Committee invited through the Gazette, tenders to supply them with "shingles, gravel or stones to be employed in the construction of a quay and road, along the banks of the river Hooghly."⁽⁵⁾ Up to the year 1820 the streets themselves throughout the greater part of the town were simply kutchā lanes; it was from this time that a systematic plan for metalling them year by year at a cost of Rs. 25,000 was adopted, and in 1820, among the many improvements in the town of Calcutta, the new walk on the west side of the course from which it was only separated by a balustrade, was particularly worthy of notice.⁽⁶⁾

The Act of 1794 authorised an assessment on the gross annual value of houses, buildings and grounds, and empowered the Justices to grant licenses for the sale of spirits, and the fund thus accruing was expended on conservancy and police. In 1809, a new assessment was made by Mr. Laprimandye, and it resulted in a considerable increase of Municipal revenue. In 1819, the house-rate yielded a little over 2½ lakhs of rupees. In 1821 four assessors were employed to revise the assessments for the house-rate,⁽⁷⁾ and in 1836, the yield of the house-tax was about 3 lakhs of rupees, and of the abkari about 1½ lakhs. The expenditure on conservancy and police was at this period 5½ lakhs, Government contributing the difference.⁽⁸⁾

The total aggregate length of roads constructed up to this time was 170 miles, and the cost of their annual repairs was from Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 50,000. The watering of roads cost about Rs. 25,000 including the cost of working the engine at Chandpālghat. The lighting (consisting of 307 oil lamps for the whole city) cost since Rs. 6,253. The net profits of the Lottery Committee between 1825 and 1836, when it was abolished, came up to the very respectable sum of Rs. 10,19,349 exclusive of all expenses. And, but for this system of raising revenue for purposes of town improvements, it is doubtful if the improvements would have been effected so early, as the public of Calcutta still demurred to the enhancement of taxation to meet municipal requirements.⁽⁹⁾

After the Lottery Committee ceased to draw in 1836, public opinion in England having condemned this method of raising funds for municipal purposes, the Fever Hospital Committee was appointed by Lord Auckland. It was presided over by Sir John Peter Grant.⁽¹⁰⁾ The scope of the inquiries of this Committee was wide and their labours immense. Their first report included the results of extensive inquiries into the drainage, cleansing, ventilation and communications of the City of Calcutta, and the means of supplying it with water; the establishment of an hospital or hospitals and of additional dispensaries for the treatment of diseases among the native poor; the causes of disease and obstacles to convenience and improvements; the state of the suburbs; the system of collecting and appropriating the taxes of the town, and the state of the police, as well in the town, as in the river, which forms its harbour. A second report dealt with the Salt-water Lake, and a third with the Medical College Hospital. The information collected and suggestions offered by this Committee have had a most important influence on subsequent municipal action, but its researches and deliberations were followed by no immediate results of consequence. It must not, however, be forgotten that Calcutta with its thatched bungalows and straw hovels, was notorious from its early days for its huge fires which frequently destroyed properties worth thousands of rupees. In 1780 Subahbazar was frequented by sailors, and they often helped in "rescuing the natives' property from the flames."⁽¹¹⁾ In

(4) Dr. Macleod's *Lecture on the Sanitation of Calcutta, Past and Present*, 1884.

(5) Sandeman's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. V, page 58.

(6) Beverley's *Report on the Census of Calcutta*, 1876, page 48.

(7) Dr. Macleod's *Lecture on the Sanitation of Calcutta, Past and Present*, 1884.

(8) *Ibid.*

(9) Beverley's *Report on the Census of Calcutta*, 1876, page 51.

(10) Dr. Macleod's *Lecture on the Sanitation of Calcutta, Past and Present*, 1884.

(11) *Peeps into Social Life in Calcutta a century ago*, by Rev. J. Lang, page 8.

April of that year we have an account of 700 straw houses burnt down in Bowbazar. Another fire in the same month in Kuli Bazar and in Dhurumtollah when 20 natives were burnt to death, and a great number of cattle. Machooa Bazar about the same time was on fire, as also the neighbourhood of *Harringbarry*. "The alarm the fire occasioned was the means of rousing several foreigners from their lurking places in that neighbourhood, who did not belong to the militia." In March 1780 a fire occurred in Calcutta, in which 15,000 straw-houses were consumed, 190 people were burned and suffocated; 18 perished in one house. In the same month it is stated: "A few days ago a Bengali was detected in the horrid attempt to set fire to some straw houses, and sent prisoner to the *Harringbarry*, and on Thursday last he was whipped at the tail of a cart, through the streets of Calcutta—too mild a punishment for so horrid a villain." The plan of incendiarism adopted was to fill a cocoanut shell with fire covered over with a brick, and tied over with a string, two holes being left in the brick that the wind may blow the fire out. A fellow was caught in the act in Dhurumtollah in 1780, but he slipped away, his body being oiled. It was recommended that those owning straw-houses should have a long bamboo with three hooks at the end to catch the villains.⁽¹⁾ The earliest enactment prescribing the adoption of preventive measures against fires was Act XII of 1837, passed by the Governor-General of India in Council. The object of this Act was merely to secure the provision of an outer roof of incombustible materials on houses and out-houses, and thatched houses ceased to be a feature of the town or as a cause of fire from the effect of this law.⁽²⁾ At this time, there were five Magistrates with salaries of Rs. 3,000, Rs. 1,463 Rs. 1,254, Rs. 1,045 and Rs. 1,000 per month,⁽³⁾ and a Police Superintendent at Rs. 500 per month to look after the municipal affairs of the town.

In the year 1800 the Justices of the Peace for Calcutta were appointed to be Magistrates of the 24-Parganas and the parts of adjacent districts within a radius of twenty miles. In 1808 a Superintendent of Police was appointed for the town, and he was also appointed to be one of the Justices of the Peace and a Magistrate of the 24-Parganas.⁽⁴⁾ And it was not long before municipal taxation came to be introduced in the suburbs. On the 8th December 1810, the Collector of the 24 Parganas issued the following advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette*:—⁽⁵⁾

"The Governor-General in Council having resolved that the tax, which for a considerable period has been levied on houses situated within the town of Calcutta, shall also extend to the suburbs as defined in clause 2, section 28, Regulation X. of 1810, and shall be levied therein under the superintendence of the Collector of the 24-Parganas, the following notice is hereby given:—

- 1st.—Dwelling houses of every description, with the exception of shops, shall be assessed at the rate of 5 per cent. on the annual rent which they may yield to the proprietor, and when such houses may be occupied by the proprietors themselves, or on which no rent may be received for them from the occupant, the tax shall be adjusted from a consideration of the rent actually paid for other houses of the same size and description in the neighbourhood.
- 2nd.—Shops, or houses occupied as shops, shall be assessed at the rate of 10 per cent. on the annual rent, &c., as above.
- 3rd.—No tax whatever shall be levied on account of empty houses: the proprietors to entitle themselves to this exemption shall report the case as often as it may occur to the Collector, who, after ascertaining whether the house is actually vacant or not, will decide whether the proprietor is justly entitled to the exemption or not; houses so exempted shall be, of course, liable to be reassessed whenever they may again be occupied.
- 4th.—All religious edifices are exempt from the payment of tax.
- 5th.—Native assessors will be appointed, and notice given to each person of the amount at which his house is assessed.
- 6th.—Rate-payers may appeal to superior courts for exemption from exorbitant taxes.
- 7th.—The tax shall be collected quarterly by the native receiver who shall tender a printed receipt.

(1) *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXV.

(2) *Report of the Calcutta Building Commission*, page 3.

(3) *Borvelley's Report on the Census of Calcutta*, 1876, page 61.

(4) Dr. Macleod's *Lecture on the Sanitation of Calcutta, Past and Present*, 1884.

(5) Sandeman's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. IV, page 106.

8th.—Complaints and suits against the Collector for acts done by him under the regulation shall be proceeded upon in the same manner as if the acts complained of had been done by him in his capacity of Collector of the land revenue.”

The multiple administration of the affairs of the town by the Justices, Committees, and the Magistrates produced friction amongst the officials and dissatisfaction amongst the rate-payers; and the idea of associating a few representatives of the latter in the administration of the city gradually gained ground. So early as December 1833, the first scheme for a representative Municipal Government in Calcutta was submitted to Government by Mr. D. M'Farlan, Chief Magistrate of the town. In accordance with this scheme, the Government sanctioned the appointment of a committee for one division of the town as an experimental measure. But although the scheme proved an utter failure,^(a) the experiment was not discontinued.

In 1840 the Government of India passed Act XXIV of 1840 by which ‘the town was divided into 4 divisions’ and ‘the Governor of Fort William was empowered on the application of two-thirds of the rate-payers of Calcutta to authorise them to undertake for themselves the assessment, collection and management of the rates up to a limit not exceeding five per cent., on the assessable value of property in Calcutta.’^(b) No application was made and the scheme fell through. Still, however, the Government and the Legislature persevered with their scheme of partially representative administration of municipal affairs; and the next Act—Act XVI of 1847—constituted a Board of seven Commissioners for the improvement of the Town of Calcutta.^(c) Three of such Commissioners were to be appointed by the Governor of Bengal, and four to be elected by the rate-payers, or in default of election, to be also appointed by the Governor of Bengal. Conservancy functions were by this Act withdrawn from the Justices from 1st January 1848 and vested in the Board. A subsidiary, but somewhat important, Act was passed a few months later which authorise the Commissioners appointed under Act XVI to purchase and hold real and personal property for the improvement of Calcutta. It also enabled them to sue and be sued by the name of Commissioners, to have a common seal, etc. Act XVI of 1847 is the earliest enactment which dealt with the formation of streets in Calcutta.^(d) Section 15 of that Act directed that the Municipal funds should be applied, *inter alia*, to the opening of streets and squares in crowded parts of the town, and the removal of obstructions to the free circulation of air, but no detailed procedure was laid down for effecting such improvements. For the first time under this Act was a tax on horses and vehicles authorised.^(e)

An Act was passed in 1848, viz., Act II of 1848; it recognized that it was necessary to bring pure water into Calcutta; that the management and control of the streets should for the future be vested in the Commissioners; that lanes and gullies should be made straight; that there was pressing need for a proper system of sewerage and drainage; that means should be adopted to prevent effluvia of the drains from exhaling; that a survey of the town should be made for the express purpose of ascertaining its numerous defects. It is to this Act that we owe Simms's survey map and report of the town in 1850.^(f) A short Act, XXXIX of 1850, followed; it had only two sections, the object of which was to continue in office the Commissioners appointed under Act XVI of 1847 pending the amendment of the constitution of the Commission. It admits that it had been discovered that previous Acts were ineffectual and inconvenient for the purposes for which they were intended.^(g) According to Colonel Thuillier, Calcutta was better cared for when Captain Abercrombie of the Engineers had sole charge of the Municipal arrangements and the Lottery Committee effected new improvements, than by the Board of seven members, four Europeans and three natives, who, in his opinion, talked a great deal and wrote more, but did little good.^(h) In spite,

(a) Beverley's Report on the Census of Calcutta, 1876, page 49.

(b) Macleod's Lecture on the Sanitation of Calcutta, Past and Present, 1884.

(c) Beverley's Report on the Census of Calcutta, 1876, page 52.

(d) The Report of the Calcutta Building Commission, page 8.

(e) Beverley's Report on the Census of Calcutta, 1876, page 52.

(f) The Report of the Calcutta Building Commission, page 13.

(g) Lecture by Mr. W. J. Simmons on Municipal Government.

(h) Beverley's Report on the Census of Calcutta, 1876, page 53.

however, of such opinions, the partially representative character of the Board was maintained. For by the next Act X of 1852, which was mainly a repealing Act, Calcutta was divided into its present Northern and Southern Divisions. The police arrangements and divisions of the town into 31 sections as made in 1785 had remained intact till 1845, when the Supreme Government ordered a thorough reorganisation of the police force and its redistribution in the town on the lines of the English Police Force, with such modifications as the state of the country required. The task was entrusted to Mr. Patten, then Chief Magistrate, who abolished the 31 thanas (and also the 21 outposts under them), divided the town into three divisions—the first or northern division, the second or the middle division, and the third or the southern division—and established a police-station with six sections in each division. There were thus 18 sections in the three divisions. What Act X of 1852 did was to abolish the second or middle section and distribute its jurisdiction between the northern and southern sections. The 18 police-stations were, however, retained, and these formed the 18 wards of the old town, and still form the first 18 out of the 25 wards of the present town, exclusive of what we call the Fringe Area wards. Under this Act, the number of Commissioners was reduced to four—two only of whom were to be appointed by Government and two elected for the Northern and Southern Divisions of the town. They were to receive salaries of not more than Rs 250 a month. ^(a) The Commissioners in 1852, were S. Wanchope, Major (afterwards Colonel) Thuillier, Tarini Charan Banerji and Dinabandhu De. Their Secretary was Mr. Clarke, to whom the Calcutta drainage scheme owes its birth. ^(b) By Act XII of 1852, the Commissioners were empowered to fill up unwholesome tanks, register bazars, etc., ^(c) and in the same year the house-rate was raised from 5 to 6½ per cent. ^(d) The year 1854 saw the birth of a short Act, XXVIII of 1854, which merits no special notice. ^(e) But in 1856 a very elaborate Act, XIV of 1856, was passed. It ran to 142 sections and was an advance in all respects on its predecessors. It was quickly followed by Acts XXV and XXVIII of the same year, by which the Commissioners were declared to be a Corporation, with the Municipal funds under their control, and with power to impose rates on carriages and for lighting the town. ^(f) Act XXV consolidated the provisions regarding assessment and collection of rates and Act XXVIII also made provisions for the appointment and remuneration of Municipal Commissioners and the levying of rates and taxes. Section 25 of the Act provided that the Commissioners should construct with as little delay as possible, a complete system of sewerage and drainage within the town and should set apart, for that purpose, a sum of 1½ lakhs of rupees. Under this Act, there were three Commissioners to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor and to be removable at his pleasure. Their annual pay was fixed at Rs. 10,000 for a whole-time officer and at Rs. 4,000, if also otherwise employed. Then came the Mutiny and the transfer of India from the Company to the Crown.

All the above Acts emanated from the Supreme Legislative Council. From this date forward all the Municipal Acts that were passed emanate from the Council of the Provincial Government.

The house-tax in 1856 yielded 3½ lakhs, and the municipal expenditure amounted to about 4 lakhs. ^(g) In this year the house-rate was raised to 7½ per cent., a tax was laid on carts, and a lighting rate of 2 per cent. was sanctioned. Halliday Street was constructed this year at a cost of Rs. 28,412, a sum of Rs. 18,263 was spent on street lighting and not less than Rs. 3,24,801 were spent on roads and drains. ^(h) This was indeed a great improvement on previous years. Section 54 of the Act XIV of 1856 provided that before beginning to build or rebuild a house, notice should be given to the Commissioners, and a plan submitted showing the levels. Section 56 empowered them "to alter or demolish a building within 14 days, if no notice had been sent."

(a) Beverley's Report on the Census of Calcutta, 1876, page 52.

(b) *Ibid.*, page 53.

(c) Lecture by Mr. W. J. Simmons on Municipal Government.

(d) Dr. Macleod's Lecture on the Sanitation of Calcutta, Past and Present, 1884.

(e) *Ibid.*

(f) *Ibid.*

(g) Dr. Macleod's Lecture on the Sanitation of Calcutta, Past and Present, 1884.

(h) Beverley's Report on the Census of Calcutta, 1876, page 53.

This Act further empowered the Commissioners "to enforce the erection of huts in regular lines, with proper passages for ventilation and scavenging, and at such level as would admit of sufficient drainage."⁽⁴⁾ From 1852 to 1856, streets, whether made by the Commissioners or by private individuals, were required to be at least 50 feet wide, or if not intended for carriage traffic, then at least 20 feet wide (the drains at the side of the street being excluded from these measurements), but this provision was repealed in the latter year.⁽⁵⁾ The first footpath made in Calcutta was the one on the east of Chowringhee Road. It was constructed of brick-on-edge by filling up an open drain in 1858.

The great scheme of underground drainage, by which the town was freed of surplus water and of all the filth floatable, miscible or soluble in water, constituted the chief of the sanitary improvements that were inaugurated at this period. The original scheme was devised by Mr. Clark, Secretary to the Commissioners. It received the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor in 1857, was experimented upon, on a small scale in 1858, and work actually commenced in 1859. Its object was the conveyance, by a series of five parallel conduits, of all the drainage and sewage of the town eastwards. These emptied into an intercepting sewer, which reached a large well at Tendra, in the eastern suburbs. There the sewage was raised by steam pumps into a high level sewer, which carried the material into the Salt Water Lakes, there to undergo oxidation and contribute to the raising of these swamps and the formation of a fertile alluvium. The works in connection with this scheme took sixteen years to complete, and before the original scheme was successfully executed, additional work in connection with it was started and has since continued, so that it may be said to be still incomplete as far as its full extension into the added (suburban) area is concerned. The execution of the original scheme proved a very expensive undertaking, cost the municipality, including the storm-water-cut completed in 1883-84, 95 lakhs of rupees, and the annual cost of maintenance amounted to Rs. 28,000. It made the town drier and cleaner, an immense gain alike to comfort and health. Some 15 millions of gallons of sewage were daily removed from the town by this agency.⁽⁶⁾ With the extended system, the quantity removed at present is of course very much greater, as we shall presently see.

The first Municipal Act passed by the Provincial Government was Act VI of 1863, by which the three Acts of 1850 were repealed and the management of the municipal affairs of the town was vested in a Corporation composed of all the Justices of the Peace for the town of Calcutta, together with all the Justices for Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa resident in Calcutta. They appointed their own Vice-Chairman, subject to the approval of Government. A Health Officer was appointed for Calcutta for the first time by the Justices, who also appointed their Secretary, Engineer, Surveyor, Tax-Collector and Assessor, while their Chairman was empowered to appoint minor officials. The Act made it incumbent on the Justices to carry out a complete system of water-supply, and a complete system of sewerage and drainage within the town. It empowered them to levy a water-rate, a maximum house-rate of 10 per cent. and license fees on trades and professions besides the existing rates and taxes. It regulated offensive trades, required the registration of burning and burial-grounds, and empowered the Justices to make bye-laws for carrying out the purposes of the Act.⁽⁷⁾

The Act of 1863 was amended by an Act of 1866, but the alterations deserve little notice. Act IX of 1867 provided that the Justices were debarred from borrowing a greater sum than 55 lakhs of rupees, exclusive of loans from the Secretary of State on account of the water-supply, and by the same Act the water-rate was limited to 4 per cent. upon the annual value of premises. Act XI of the same year provided for the levy of a police-rate at 3 per cent.⁽⁸⁾ Act I of 1870 raised the limit of the water-rate to 5 per cent. Act VIII of the same year gave the Justices power to borrow six lakhs for the erection of markets. By Act VI of 1871 some modification was effected in the constitution

⁽⁴⁾ *The Report of the Calcutta Building Commission*, pages 3, 11 and 12.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, page 19.

⁽⁶⁾ *Beverley's Report on the Census of Calcutta, 1876*, page 55.

⁽⁷⁾ *Lecture by Mr. W. J. Simmons on Municipal Government.*

⁽⁸⁾ *Beverley's Report on the Census of Calcutta, 1876*, pages 53-54.

of the Corporation and only Justices of the Peace for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, who were also Justices for the town, were to be members of the Corporation, and they were further empowered to borrow six lakhs for the erection of markets. Act I of 1872 increased the general borrowing powers of the Municipality to the extent of 30 lakhs. Act II of 1874 authorised an additional market loan of 7 lakhs. But all the foregoing Acts were repealed and a new Act was passed in the year 1876, by which the number of Municipal Commissioners was fixed at 72, the Chairman and Vice-Chairman excepted, two-thirds of whom were to be elected by the rate-payers and the remainder nominated by the Local Government. By this Act provisions were made for the payment of interest on the municipal debt, for the formation of a reserve fund for the maintenance of a police force, and for the pushing on of the underground drainage system throughout the town area, for suitable arrangements for the proper removal of sewage from the town, and for the water supply of the town.⁽¹⁾

The drainage scheme was, under these provisions of the law, pushed on with vigour; brick sewers were erected to run along under all the main streets, and pipe-sewers along lanes and alleys, so that by the year 1876, 37½ miles of brick and 37 miles of pipe-sewers were completed.⁽²⁾

The scheme for supplying the whole of the town and its suburbs with pure water for domestic purposes, was sanctioned by the Local Government in 1860 and was begun to be put into execution during the same year. To get a supply of the river water free from salt and all possible floating sewage of the metropolis, a pumping station was raised at Fulia, two miles north of Barrackpore, where water is raised to a large vat and purified by exposure, subsidence, and lastly by filtration. The pure water is then conveyed to the town through large and closed iron mains by gravitation, the water is then stored in a large closed reservoir, and by the agency of strong force pumps, it is distributed throughout the area by pipes. It was originally intended to give Calcutta a supply of six million gallons per diem or 15 gallons per head. In 1870, there were altogether 127 miles of pipe, of which 111½ were connected with Fulia and 25½ with the pumping engine at Chandpāghāt.⁽³⁾ They distributed water along 418 streets only, all of which taken together contained 514 hydrants. In recent years, however, the works have been greatly extended. They now give the increased municipal area and its adjacent towns of Barrackpore, Dum Dum, Cossipur-Uttopore, and Maniktala, a daily supply of over 20,356,573 gallons, being nine gallons per head in excess of the original supply. The initial cost of the works was 7 lakhs of rupees up to 1864, when they were in working order. The total cost on this head was 65 lakhs, and over a lakh and-a-half were annually expended on maintenance and distribution up to 1876.

It was not until the year 1888 when, under the Municipal Consolidation Act II of 1888, the size of the town was augmented from 11,954 acres to 20,547 acres, by the addition to it of a considerable part of the suburbs, under the designation, as we have seen, of "added area" and "fringe area," that the statute law was substantially improved for the control of buildings and the prevention of encroachment upon the public streets; and it was not until that year that the Commissioners were given power to make bye-laws to supplement the statute law. By the Act, the extended municipal area was divided into 25 wards, 18 of which were the old city wards; the number of Commissioners was raised to 75, of whom 50 were to be elected, 15 appointed by Government, 4 to be elected by the Chamber of Commerce, 4 by the Calcutta Trades Association and 2 by the Port Commissioners. This Act remained in force from 1st April 1889 to 31st March 1900. It was under this Act that personal voting was first enforced on 15th March 1899. Both the Act of 1888 and the bye-laws were, however, drawn in such a manner that many of the improvements which they were intended to introduce, proved impossible of achievement, and a Building Commission sat in Calcutta to devise means for giving the Commissioners the necessary power. Their report was submitted in 1897 and their recommendations are incorporated in the new Calcutta Municipal Act of

⁽¹⁾ Hoveley's *Report on the Census of Calcutta*, 1876, page 51.

⁽²⁾ *The Municipal Administration Reports for the years 1875-76 and 1900-1901.*

⁽³⁾ Dr. MacLeod's *Lecture on the Sanitation of Calcutta, Past and Present*, 1884.

1899. This Act has reduced the number of Commissioners from 75 to 50 and has vested in a General Committee of 12 members, much of the powers in controlling financial and executive acts which were vested in the Corporation under the old Act. Half the number of Commissioners are elected by the rate-payers, four by the Chamber of Commerce, four by the Trades Association, and two by the Port Commissioners, while 15 are nominated by the Government. While Act XIV of 1856 ran only to 142 sections, Act VI of 1863 to 240 sections, Act IV of 1876 to 376 sections and Act II of 1888 to 461 sections, the present Act covers 652 sections, while of its 21 schedules, some are as big as the old Acts. The Building Regulations occupy no small space, nor are they the least difficult portion of the improved law.

Although much has been done under the powers conferred by law to reduce the state of overcrowding in the town, by including the old surface drains in the road area and by opening out new streets and by the clearance of bustees, and although a beginning has been made, thanks to the exertions of the present head of the Corporation, in providing model dwellings for the poor on approved sanitary principles, the action of the Corporation has been limited by the funds available, and many portions of the town are still greatly overcrowded. It must, however, be remembered what a vast amount of work the Corporation has to do to prevent existing 'conveniences' from becoming less useful and efficient, irrespective of its new works. There are now 330 miles of roads, of which 103 miles are stone-metalled and 165 miles brick-metalled, in the place of 82 miles and 50 miles respectively in 1876; there are 6,811 gas-lamps and 2,295 oil-lamps instead of 988 and 704 in 1883 and 2,720 and 717 in 1876 respectively. There are 10,669 carts and 8,796 carriages, of which 5,242 are private, in place of less than half the number in 1876, and there are, at the present time, 84,410 kutcha and 41,064 pukka houses for the Corporation to look after in the place of 22,860 kutcha and 16,816 pukka houses of 1876, and of these 26,304 are connected with the filtered water-supply of the town and 31,295 with the public sewers. A glance at the figures in the two statements appended to this chapter will, it is hoped, give an idea of the nature and volume of the current duties of the Corporation in connection with its finances and with the various other works which it has to perform in order to prevent any portion of its existing machinery from falling into disuetude.

It is of course out of the question in a brief history like this to describe in detail all the various improvements that have taken place in the town in recent years so as to reach this result. The more important of the town improvements, besides those incidentally mentioned in connection with the Acts, may, however, be briefly noted here.^(a)

Between 1867 and 1876, Beadon Street and Grey Street, in the north of the town, were opened, Beadon Square was constructed and ornamented, Moorgheehatta Street was improved and widened and named after Lord Canning and continued to Jackson Ghat Street; Clive Street was extended by the opening out of Clive Road to meet Canning Street; Free School Street was continued to meet Dharamtala Street, Goatooly Lane, Mott's Lane, Hareeparā Lane, Ramhurry Mistrī's Lane, and Janbazar 2nd Lane were widened; nearly the whole of the main thoroughfares of the town had footpaths made at their sides, and Chowringhee Road, Camac Street, Theatre Road, and South Circular Road had trees planted at their sides. Another most important work of this period was the construction in 1873 and 1874, at a cost of 18 lakhs of rupees, by the Port Commissioners, of the Hooghly Floating Bridge by which Howrah was connected with Calcutta. The Municipal Railway was constructed between 1865 and 1867 at a cost of nearly 6½ lakhs. The New Market was built and established at a cost of over 6½ lakhs between 1871 and 1874, and the Dharamtala Market, belonging to Babu Heralal Seal, which remained a great obstacle to the success of the former, was purchased for 7 lakhs. Public latrines and nightsoil depôts were made since 1866, costing no less a sum than 3½ lakhs originally. Slaughter-houses were built at a cost of over 2½ lakhs between 1866 and 1869. Besides these, the Municipal workshop at Entally, with its machinery and building, and the land and machinery, etc.,

^(a) The succeeding paragraphs are based upon the *Annual Administration Reports of the Corporation* and the *Reports of the Sanitation Committee and Building Commission*.

at Kotrung cost the Municipality a sum of nearly 4 lakhs. Thus, inclusive of the drainage works, a sum of no less than two crores of rupees were expended by the Commissioners for the improvement of the town between 1858 and 1876.

The most noticeable improvements effected in the town between 1876 and 1881 was the widening of the Strand Bank for the location of jute and seed ware-houses, particularly in the northern sections, Kamartuli, Jorabagan and Burrabazar, of the town. The open drains in Burrabazar were filled up. A new Municipal materials depôt was constructed at Shampukur by which half of the Nikaripara Bustee was cleared away; a new road was made between Rajah Rajbullav Street and Ram Kanta Bose's Lane: Schalch Street was constructed in the north of the town as well as another road, since named Barwaritala Lane, between Baniatola Street and Sobhabazar Street. The Tramway Company, which first started work in 1880 between Sealdah and Hare Street along Bowbazar and Lalhbazar Street, Dalhousie Square and Hare Street, built large, spacious and clean stables where populous busties existed, and several jute warehouses were erected close to the Strand Road at the site of bastis. In the Northern Division, six new roads since named Rajpara Lane, Dalimitala Lane, Pearabagan Lane, Mullick's Lane, Coondoo's Lane, etc., were constructed, while a big bustee was cleared in Bendon Street for the Free Church Orphanage and Zenana House. Two new roads were constructed in the Sukeas' Street Section and several private pucca buildings were constructed at the sites of huts. The Mayo Hospital was constructed in the Jorabagan Section where large private residences and ware-houses or jate-presses also displaced clusters of thatched huts. A bustee was demolished in the Jorasanko Section of the town, and several streets, since named Chorebagan Street, Rajendra Mullick's Lane, Sarcar's Lane, Singhee's Lane, etc., opened between Baranasee Ghose's Street and Muktaram Babu's Street, and between Machhabazar Street and elsewhere, such as Vidyasagara Street, Badoorbagan 2nd Lane, Kalitala Lane, Bysack Dighi Lane, Baniapara Lane, etc. In Burrabazar several huts gave place to a few warehouses, and in Colootola, a large bustee was cleared for the Eden Hospital. In the Muchipara section, a bustee was cleared for Miss Fendal's Home and St. Paul's Mission chapel in Scott's lane, and a road was made through Putwabagan. In Colinga, Duncan's bustee in Wood Street was cleared for the Surveyor-General's office. Some new roads were also opened in the Taltolla Section.

Tollah mehtars, in the pay of the house-owners and occupiers, over whom the Municipality had no control, were done away with in 1876 and *Halal-cores*, over whom the authorities could have entire control, were imported by Mr. C. T. Metcalfe, Chairman, at the advice of Dr. Payne, the Health Officer, in 1877. Large conservancy works were taken in hand; the drainage and filtered water-supply were extended year by year from that date, and more and more tanks began to be filled up, while a larger and larger number of bustees came to be improved by the construction of roads and drains through them as years rolled on. All these works were greatly owing to the strong advocacy of the measures by Dr. Payne, the Health Officer, whose earnestness and condemnation of the existing nuisances often brought him into conflict with his employers. The lighting of the town also grew apace. As tanks began to be filled up, bathing platforms began to be constructed to supply the water covered over. The construction of new roads was also not forgotten. The Commissioners in their review of the work done by them during the twelve years 1876—1888 claimed to have completed the whole of the original drainage scheme, and to have doubled the supply of water, filtered and unfiltered, by importing new machinery and engines and providing for two large settling tanks and 24 filters at Pulta, and laying a second iron-main from Pulta to Tulla, by setting up additional engines at Tulla for requisite pressure to distribute the water direct into the pipes in the day and into the reservoirs at night for which the Tulla reservoir was enlarged to a capacity of three million gallons, by providing additional engine-power to the Wellington Street engines and by the construction of new engines in a complete Pumping Station with requisite reservoir in Halliday Street, and finally by laying additional pipes throughout the town; to have increased the length and area of roads by ten per cent., and 33 per cent. respectively, and to have lighted

and watered them better than before; to have filled up 240 foul tanks and made five new squares and begun one more square, to have erected many bathing platforms and cleared various bustees and filled up open drains (called elongated cesspools), so that, on the whole, the value of land had doubled. They spent in 1888 over 2½ lakhs annually on drainage works alone. In the place of 7,214 houses drain connected in 1876, they had no less than 23,849 houses thus connected in 1888; in the place of 47 miles of pipe sewers of the former year, they had more than thrice as many miles, or 144 miles of them in the latter, and these were periodically inspected, cleaned and flushed on an improved system. In the place of 6,541,154 gallons of filtered and 721,675 gallons of unfiltered water in 1876, they had, in 1888, 10,326,001 gallons of filtered and 2,501,830 gallons of unfiltered water-supply per diem and had proposed to extend the filtered supply to 20 million gallons per diem, 16 for the town and four for suburbs, at a total outlay of one million and 23 lakhs of rupees nearly. By increasing the length and width of roads and by leaving open spaces in the form of squares, lungs had been provided to the over-crowded areas and thus the mistake had been avoided of allowing the sites of all filled up tanks to be converted into overcrowded and insanitary bustees. One of the squares—the Marcus Square which was under construction in 1888, was situated at the site of one of the oldest tanks of the town called Bysack's Dighi which had been a source of great unhealthiness to the locality. It was named after Mr. Marcus who made a bequest of Rs. 70,000 to the Corporation. In the place of 3,418 street lamps in 1876, there were 4,761 lamps in 1888. They also claimed to have initiated the cleaning and improvement of bastis, of which there were in 1883 206 with an area of 2,222 bighas, for which they had a special establishment of about 300 coolies (dhangars), 2 sarkars, 2 Inspectors and 12 peons, during that year. And they had constructed 86 bathing platforms, of which there were none in 1872. The town had in fact been, as was said at the time, revolutionised within living memory and its improvements had been far more rapid and decisive during the twelve years than ever before. An indication of the activity of the Commissioners during these years may be obtained from a summary of their annual works. In 1880 they completed three new roads and constructed a fourth road; arranged to transfer the pumping engine from Chandpal Ghat to Mullick's Ghat; supplied Barrackpur for the first time with filtered water; laid 7.33 miles of drainage, thereby connecting 14,831 houses against 12,729 of the previous year; completed arrangements with the Tramway Company for the opening of their line and increased the vaccination staff entertained for the first time the year before. In 1881 the Commissioners widened the Chitpur Road; opened the Storm-water outfall sewer; constructed a new road west of the Medical College; filled up 26 tanks and opened 1½ miles of new streets by filling up and metalling several drains and completed the basti rules and regulations for huts. The revenue increased to Rs. 42,00,888 from Rs. 28,27,122 of the preceding year, although their income from Hackney carriages decreased owing to a diminution of 477 carriages as the result of the opening of the Trams. This was compensated by an increase in the number of carts from 15,042 to 18,095. They had still 500 tanks to fill up, of which 177 only were basti tanks, the rest being within private enclosures. They examined and listed 486 bastis for improvement, of which they took nine in hand inclusive of Soorteebagan, Patwarbagan and Jorabagan, while 14.15 miles of drainage pipes were laid on during the year. In 1882 the widening of Chitpur Road was continued, and new roads were constructed between Bartolla and Machualazar, Nimtola Street and Darmahatta Street. Sikdarpara Street was widened and converted into a carriage drive from a narrow footpath. Several paved hackney-carriage stands with drains at their side were made, and arrangements were made for supplying the suburbs with filtered water, while 20.67 miles of sewers were opened—thus bringing up the total mileage of sewers to 36.77 miles of brick and 118.14 of pipe sewers, total 149.91 miles, leaving only 15 miles of pipe-sewers to be constructed in the town area as per original drainage scheme. Sixty-four bighas of basti land in Soortibagan were cleared and the cleaning of Patwarbagan and Jorabagan was continued, while schemes were prepared for the improvement of Natherbagan, Jorapooker, Goalapara, Bamunbagan, Kalabagan and Colvin bastis. Thirty-three

tanks were filled up during the year—20 by the Corporation and 18 by owners. 75 bathing platforms were budgetted for, of which only one was constructed at Komdambagan during the year. In the following year four bathing platforms were constructed at a cost of Rs. 55,871; 44 tanks and 477 holes and pits were filled up, the work of clearing the *bastis* taken in hand in the preceding year was continued, and 10,672 feet of sewers were constructed. The water-supply had risen to 7,975,960 gallons of filtered and 2,035,808 gallons of unfiltered water from 7,260,320 gallons and 1,000,000 gallons respectively in 1878, which was the first year in which unfiltered water was supplied for flushing drains and watering streets. And the quantity of refuse taken to the Salt Water Lakes had grown from 7,163 waggon loads in 1877 and 7,284 waggon loads in 1878, to 14,189 waggon loads. Action was also taken on the report of the Sanitary Commission that sat under section 28 of the Act of 1876, and resolutions were come to for extension and widening of roads, for more commodious hackney carriages, for an additional establishment for Vaccination, and for the appointment of a Food and Drink Inspector.

In 1885-86, Dr. Simpson was appointed a whole-time Health Officer, his predecessors, Drs. Payne and McLeod, having been only Consulting Health Officers of the Corporation with more responsible and onerous duties under the Government. This year saw the codification and remodelling of Rules and Regulations for house drainage. The Municipal latrines were thrown open to the public free of charge. the drainage works of Hastings and Bagbazar not contemplated in Mr. Clark's scheme were taken in hand, roads were made in the Karbulla tank locality, and Hindu slaughter-houses were prescribed. All 13 *bastis* taken in hand in 1883 were completed, and the improvement of Soorhatta and Keranibagan *bastis* was commenced, and several other projects of *basti*-cleaning were approved. The water-works of Pulia were extended and a new main to Chitpur was completed; 16 tanks were filled up and 12 emptied. The Jorapooker and Goalpara tanks were acquired for public recreation; 47 bathing platforms were made, nine more were begun and the sites for 28 more were selected. It was ascertained that 62,003 persons had resorted to these platforms during the year. The town was illuminated for the Queen's Jubilee at a cost of Rs. 5,000.

In 1886 16 *bastis* were completed. 4 were under construction, and 5 taken in hand at a cost of Rs. 2,17,554; 28 bathing platforms were constructed, 38 tanks were either filled up or in process of being filled up; and the drainage of Hastings, Bagbazar, and the sewerage of the Mahhatta Ditch was pushed on, but no more than Rs. 24,000 were available for expenditure on roads.

In the year 1888-89—the last year of the Commissioners under Act VI (B.C.) of 1876—they agreed to stop the filling up of tanks by refuse, and to substitute dry earth for it and to burn a portion of the town refuse in an Incinerator. They made 18.4 miles of road by constructing four new roads in the Patuatolla block, where a number of tanks had been filled up. They cleared the Raja Bagan *basti* and made a road through it 30 feet wide, and they removed no less than 16,073 waggon loads of refuse from the town.

With the accession of the new Commissioners, under Act II (B.C.) of 1888, and the relinquishment, on promotion, of the late Sir Henry Harrison of the office of Chairman, ceased this zealous and rapid improvement of the town. The addition of such a large part of the suburbs to the town under the Act and the increased responsibility and work thrown thereby on the new *regime* appear to have had a marked effect in checking progress in the town area. One great cause for this was undoubtedly paucity of funds, caused by such a large outlay as Rs. 27,37,000 upon the construction of the central road, since called Harrison Road, which, owing to litigation and delay in land acquisition proceedings, some of which could perhaps have been avoided by the selection of a Land Acquisition Officer, with some knowledge of engineering and building, was not completed till 1892-93 though begun in 1889-90. But the chief cause of this arrest in the continuity of improvements in the old town area was the transference of attention to the newly added area which, in point of appearance and sanitation, was far worse than the old town of 1876. Beyond, therefore, an extension of drainage and of water supply, and of the opening out of a few roads and the clearance of a few *bastis* and the

erection of large buildings by the Public Works Department or private individuals, the old town area can show no record of improvements during the last decade which may be described as the period of extension of the improvements of the town into the added area. Thus, in 1889-90, the schemes taken in hand were (1) the continuation of the New Central Road, (2) the burning of town refuse by the erection of Harrington's Incinerator, (3) the survey of the added area for an extensive drainage scheme, (4) the extension of drainage and water-supply to the suburbs, (5) the acquisition of land for a Municipal Dhoobi-khana, and (6) the Legislation of Lepers. In 1890-91 the Incinerator was purchased and Mr. Baldwin Latham was consulted on the drainage scheme of the suburbs. In 1891-92 the Bhawanipur portion of the water-supply scheme of the suburbs was completed and 581 stand-posts and 36 miles of pipes were constructed, for which the waterworks at Pulta were further extended. The Corporation spent $2\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs in the construction of the Bhawanipur Pumping Station and $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a lakh for the construction of the Lansdowne Road. The Central (Harrison) Road was all but completed, 8 *bastis* were cleared, 11 more were under consideration, the Goragatcha Incinerator was erected, and 200 miles of open sewers were drained. In 1892-93 the Harrison Road was lighted by electricity at a capital outlay of Rs. 91,885 and a yearly charge of Rs. 2,470, the Hooghly Bridge and the Eden Gardens having already been so lighted. Two more settling tanks were constructed at Pulta and 18 miles of pipes laid and the Municipality of Maniktala was supplied with filtered water at four annas per gallon. The total daily supply was raised to over 24 million gallons. The Bhawanipur Flushing Reservoir for its Drainage Scheme was built. The necessity of Building Bye-laws to regulate the construction of buildings was strongly pointed out by Dr. Simpson during each of the previous four years. In 1893-94 two new Pumping Engines were stationed at Pulta and the daily supply of filtered water was raised to 36.66 gallons for the town and 19.55 gallons for the suburbs, for the distribution of which there were 302.09 miles of pipes. There was, besides, a supply of 72.46 miles of pipes for a daily supply of $4\frac{1}{2}$ million gallons of unfiltered water. As for extension of the drainage scheme, 25 flushing chambers were made during the year, the length of sewers being 204 miles and the number of houses connected 27,997, of which 437 were new connections. The sewerage was extended to the Entally block. In 1894-95 the conversion of Bysack's *dighi* into Marcus Square was a *fait accompli*.

The Worthington Engine imported in the previous year for the Tube water-works—the largest engine in India—was set a-going during the year and 4.91 miles of new pipes were constructed, bringing up the total length to 307 miles. The Dum-Dum Cantonment and the Cossipur-Chitpur Municipality were connected with supply pipes of the town and 76 cattle-troughs, several of which were presented by private individuals, were also connected with the filtered water-supply. The drains of the fringe area were connected with the town drains and 3,135 feet of new pipes were laid. In 1895-96 the revenue of the Commissioners had risen to Rs. 46,70,000 from 32 lakhs in 1888 and 42 lakhs in 1890-91, but the expenditure had increased beyond receipts, being Rs. 48,27,000. Four lakhs were spent in extending the drainage scheme to the suburbs, but owing to the scheme approved by Mr. Baldwin Latham, an eminent authority in Europe on drainage matters, being different from the scheme of Messrs. Hughes and Kimber, the local Engineers, it was confined to the Entally block, Chitla sluice, Garden Reach and Chaulpati, etc., the main scheme being kept in abeyance. Building Regulations were framed during the year; the Council House Street and Dalhousie Square south were widened and several new roads were opened, a few tanks were filled up and a few bathing platforms were constructed. The only *basti* improved was that of Hastings. Improvement in water-supply was of course continuous. In 1896-97 Messrs. Kilburn & Co., Contractors under the Corporation for electric lighting, replaced the electric under-ground cables by overhead wires in Harrison Road, experience having proved the unsuitability of under-ground cables in the wet-climate of Calcutta. A new road connecting Kumartuli Street with Schalch Street was opened, Lansdowne Road was extended and also Bedeapara Road. A high level sewer road, the Hazara Road and the Kalighat Road were also projected.

Tank filling and basti improvement were also carried on to a small extent. The energies of the Commissioners were, for a time, wholly occupied with plague-preventive measures, one of which was the increase of the daily water-supply to 26,169,476 gallons and the connection of the Plague Hospital at Maniktalla by big pipes. Unfiltered mains were extended by 3 miles during the year, and steps were taken to supply *filtered* for unfiltered water in bathing platforms. The plague staff was placed under Dr. Banks, a Civil Medical Officer under the Government of Bengal, of high scientific attainments whose services were lent to the Corporation.

On November 26th, 1896, the foundation stone was laid by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Lieutenant-Governor, of the new drainage scheme of Messrs. Hughes and Kimber. This is a combined scheme for improving the outfall of the sewers of the town and for draining the suburbs.

In 1897-98 $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles of filtered water-pipes and $15\frac{1}{2}$ miles for unfiltered water were constructed, a new Worthington Engine was stationed at Mullick's Ghat Pumping Station and two more were requisitioned for Tullah. Much attention was paid by the Commissioners to plague measures for which hospitals existed at Marcus Square, Budge-Budge road, Maniktalla, etc.

Gas Street was connected during this year with Jagannath Dutt Street by a new road, Harrison Road with Roopchand Road by another, and Garpar Road was also similarly opened and connected with another road in Ward No. 4.

In their report for the year 1898-99, the Commissioners reviewed their work for the preceding ten years and pointed out that they had during this period extended the filtered water-supply at a cost of 18 lakhs, and that the underground drainage scheme had been started which was to cost 26 lakhs; that a Dhobikhana and an Incinerator had been constructed; that a number of insanitary tanks had been filled up and roads or squares made in their place; that Muhammadan burial-grounds had been improved, conservancy bettered, unfiltered water-supply extended at a cost of 8 lakhs of rupees, five fine new roads made, and that 167 lakhs of rupees had altogether been spent, including the construction of 27 miles of new minor roads, reclamation of *bashis* and disposal of refuse.

In 1898-99 the Municipal revenue had increased to Rs. 48,25,800 and the expenditure to 48 lakhs. Vaccination and Plague Inoculation were, however, not very successful, although nothing was wanting on the part of the Corporation to render them as success. In 1899-1900 the Municipal revenue reached Rs. 52,42,000. Extension of water-supply and drainage works was, of course, continued through all these years, and plague also engaged the attention of the Corporation.

The Re-organisation Scheme which has been carried into effect this year, and by which the town has been divided into four primary districts, with a full staff of officers in each, is expected, if properly worked, to mark an era in the history of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation by developing effective control and thereby checking abuses, in each of its hitherto unwieldy and necessarily ill-managed departments. Decentralisation has, in most Government departments, resulted in increased efficiency, and there is no reason why the result should be different in the case of the Corporation. In spite of great efforts on the part of the Commissioners in the past to improve the town in point of health and outward appearance, its Establishments in the Sanitary, Conservancy, Drainage, Building and Roads Departments, were entertained on very low pay, and they had to be let severely alone for want of a proper supervising staff, while the heads of departments had too much work at their desk in the central office for effective out-door supervision. Thus many of the orders issued by the Central Executive used to be frustrated with impunity. Corruption and even false reports, so ably exposed by the late Mr. Jones before the Sanitation Committee of 1884, were scarcely detected, while the overlapping of the duties of the officers of different departments, and the deputation of different sets of men for the doing of kindred work, frequently enabled the subordinate outdoor staff to shirk responsibility. But the new scheme which has also sanctioned a more liberal scale of pay, will, it is expected, change all this. There are now District Engineers, District Health Officers, District Surveyors of Buildings and Roads, etc., each with a sufficient staff of Inspectors and Overseers under him, and if good and honest men are got in, instead of drones recommended by

men of influence, and are kept under proper check, there is absolutely no reason why the affairs of the town should not be administered with thorough efficiency.

Electric Tramways, and Electric Lighting of the main thoroughfares of the Town, for which the requisite contracts have already been completed, and the requisite plant has already been imported and partly erected by the contractors, will, if carried out in conjunction with the large schemes of improvement that are in contemplation, and towards which preliminary action has already been taken, completely change the aspect of the town in the course of a few years and raise it from its present fifth position amongst the chief cities of the old world to the fourth, if not third in rank—a position to which it is entitled as the metropolis of the British Indian Empire.

APPENDIX I.

A Statement of Municipal Works and Properties up to 31st March 1901.

31,296 Premises connected with the public sewers.			Stand-posts—	
Free latrines	507	68	in town area	962
Tempered latrines	18		in added area	1,025
Urinals	72		Ground Hydrants (filtered water-supply) in added area for fire service	224
Primary schools	638		Unfiltered connections to houses—	
Connected privies	6,148		in town area	2,676
Service privies	52,701		Ground Hydrants—	
Markets and bazars	69		in town area	2,827
Municipal Market	1		in added area	1,782
Bathing platforms	84		Municipal Buildings—	
Cattle-drinking troughs—			Town Hall,	
in Town	867	90	Municipal offices,	
in added Area	7		Municipal Market,	
Public fountains	8		Thurstonella Market,	
Night-soil depôts	31		Slaughter house,	
Public squares and tanks—			Knally Workshops and Store godowns and sheds,	
in Town area	21	26	North Gorkhena,	
in Added area	5		South Gorkhena,	
Gas lamps—			Railway Barracks,	
in Streets	6,612	6,811	Mather Barracks,	
in New Market	40		Municipal latrines,	
in Public squares	10		Discharge depôts,	
in Port Commissioners' Jet-ties and Strand	68		Drainage Pumping Station,	
in Bridges	23		Pumping Stations for supply of filtered water—	
in Street urinals	18		3 at Paltah,	
Oil-lamps—			1 at Tallah,	
in Streets	2,220	2,295	1 at Wellington Square,	
in Municipal Office	3		1 at Halliday Street,	
in Port Commissioners' Dock Roads	72		1 at Bhowanipore,	
Filtered water connection to houses—			Pumping Stations for unfiltered water-supply—	
in town area	21,582	21,660	1 at Mollick's Ghat,	
in Hastings	73		1 at Wainunge,	
in Added area	4,844			
out of town	23			

* Grant increased from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 10,000.

APPENDIX II.

List of Debiture Loans for the Corporation of Calcutta.

Year of Issue.	Date of Loan.	Amount.	Rate of Interest.	Duration of Loan.	Date of payment of interest.	Date of repayment.	Works for which loans were made.
1858	1st September 1858	Rs. 5,000	5 per cent.	20 years	...	Time expired in 1878	Balance of a loan of Rs. 1,00,000 being made.
1876	1st July, 1876	5,00,000	5 per cent.	20 years	1st June and 1st December	1st July, 1896	Drainage.
1879	1st August, 1879	2,00,000	"	"	1st January and 1st July	1st August, 1899	5 lacs for drainage, and Rs. 50,000 for water-supply.
1879	1st May, 1879	5,00,000	"	"	1st May and 1st November	1st May, 1900	5 lacs for drainage, and 2 lacs for water-supply.
1881	1st October, 1881	5,00,000	"	"	1st April and 1st October	1st October, 1901	Water-supply.
1882-83	1st January, 1882	6,00,000	4 1/2 per cent.	20 years	1st January and 1st July	1st January, 1902	5 lacs for drainage, and Rs. 50,000 for drainage and water-supply.
1883-84	1st April, 1883	2,00,000	"	"	1st April and 1st October	1st April, 1903	Drainage.
1884-85	1st August, 1884	67,000	"	"	1st February and 1st August	1st August, 1904	Water-supply.
1884-85	1st February, 1885	15,00,000	5 per cent.	"	1st May	1st February, 1905	10 lacs for water-supply, and 5 lacs for drainage.
1885-86	1st September, 1885	25,00,000	"	20 years	1st March and 1st September	1st September, 1906	17 lacs for water-supply, and 8 lacs for drainage.
1886-87	1st September, 1886	20,00,000	"	"	1st May and 1st November	1st September, 1906	11 lacs for water-supply, 3 lacs for drainage, 1 lac for gas, and 1 lac for drainage, and Rs. 1,00,000 for expenditure of loan of 1886.
1887-88	1st January, 1887	12,50,000	"	"	1st January and 1st July	1st January, 1907	Rs. 1,00,000 for drainage, Rs. 2,00,000 for water-supply, and Rs. 2,00,000 for expenditure of loan of 1887.
1888-89	1st July, 1888	5,00,000	"	"	1st June and 1st December	1st July, 1908	Water-supply.
1889-90	1st September, 1889	12,00,000	"	"	1st May and 1st November	1st September, 1909	4 lacs for drainage, Rs. 7,50,000 for water-supply, and Rs. 2,00,000 for expenditure of loan of 1889.
1890-91	1st December, 1890	20,00,000	"	"	1st April and 1st October	1st December, 1910	10 lacs for Harrison Road, 2,00,000 for drainage, 1 lac for gas, and 1 lac for water-supply.
1890-91	1st April, 1891	10,00,000	"	"	1st May	1st April, 1911	4 lacs for Harrison Road, 2,00,000 for drainage, 1 lac for gas, and 1 lac for water-supply.
1891-92	1st October, 1891	20,00,000	4 1/2 per cent.	"	1st May	1st October, 1912	10 lacs for Harrison Road, 2,00,000 for drainage, 1 lac for gas, and 1 lac for water-supply.
1892-93	1st December, 1892	10,00,000	"	15 years	1st June and 1st December	1st December, 1907	4 lacs for Harrison Road, 2,00,000 for drainage, 1 lac for gas, and 1 lac for water-supply.
1893-94	1st December, 1893	50,00,000	5 1/2	"	1st May	1st December, 1911	4 lacs for drainage, 1 lac for water-supply, and 1 lac for Harrison Road, and 1 lac for gas and drainage.
1894-95	1st February, 1894	15,00,000	"	25 years	1st February and 1st August	1st February, 1919	10 lacs for water-supply and 10 lacs for drainage and other work.
1895-96	1st December, 1895	20,00,000	"	"	1st June and 1st December	1st December, 1913	Rs. 5,00,000 for drainage, and Rs. 1,50,000 for water-supply.
1896-97	1st May, 1896	4,00,000	"	10	1st May and 1st November	1st May, 1906	10 lacs for water-supply and 10 lacs for drainage and other work.
1897-98	1st September, 1897	5,70,000	"	20	1st May	1st September, 1917	Rs. 5,00,000 for drainage, and Rs. 1,50,000 for water-supply and Rs. 1,50,000 for drainage and other work.
1898-99	1st July, 1898	2,20,000	4 1/2 per cent.	10	1st July and 1st January	1st July, 1908	Rs. 2,20,000 for drainage, and Rs. 1,50,000 for water-supply and Rs. 1,50,000 for drainage and other work.
1899-00	1st July, 1899	8,00,000	"	20	1st July	1st July, 1919	Rs. 8,00,000 for drainage, and Rs. 1,50,000 for water-supply and Rs. 1,50,000 for drainage and other work.
1900-01	1st December, 1900	5,00,000	"	10	1st December	1st December, 1910	Rs. 5,00,000 for drainage, and Rs. 1,50,000 for water-supply and Rs. 1,50,000 for drainage and other work.
1901-02	1st March, 1901	10,00,000	"	10	1st March and 1st September	1st March, 1911	Rs. 10,00,000 for drainage, and Rs. 1,50,000 for water-supply and Rs. 1,50,000 for drainage and other work.
Total		5,24,00,000					

CHAPTER XL

LOCALITIES AND BUILDINGS.

At the very first stage of growth, every locality derives its name from its prominent natural features. Calcutta was, therefore, in its primeval stage of development, included under the general nomenclature of "Burinjar desh," meaning a tract of land liable to inundation or, more properly, a tidal swamp, and the very first name of a locality within it that we come across, is Balliaghata, a name derived from the sandy deposit in the bed of the river Adiganga that flowed through it.^(a) At the second stage of its growth, the incident of its becoming a field of contest between the Aryans and the aborigines and the eventual settlement of the quarrel by an assimilation of the aborigines with the Aryans, so aptly illustrated in the form of the black goddess Kali trampling under her feet her admitted white lord, Siva, changed its nomenclature. The aboriginal goddess becoming triumphant, gave her name to the locality and it came to be called Kalikshetra. But the Aryan triad could not be ignored. So with her as the central figure, there were Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswara at the corners of the triangle over which she ruled. These Hindu gods (and their successors) imparted names, either from their own various names or from the rites and ceremonies connected with their worship and feasts, to the localities around. Thus originated the names^(b) of Chitpur, Sutanuti, Govindapur, Bhawanipur, Kalighat, Laldighi, Lalbazar, Birji and Birjitala (from *Brajanath*, which is another name for Govinda or Vishnu), Sasthitala, Panchanantala, Sivatala, Kalitala, Siddheswaritala, Barabazar, (from *Bura*, old man, as Siva is often fondly called by devotees), Radhabazar, Chaurangi, Charakdaugu (the site of the swinging festival in honour of Siva), Rathitala (under the shade of the *Rath* or Jagannatha's car).

With the removal of Kali to Kalighat, the spell under which each locality came to be known by a Hindu deity's name, came gradually to be broken. And for a time the localities of our present town came to be named, as at the very beginning, from the prominent natural objects. This was, of course, long before men or their achievements became important enough to contribute by their name to the designation of localities. Thus arose Bartala, Nimtala, Nebutala, Kadamtala, Beltala, Boinechitala, Banstala, Gabtala, Jhawtala, Amratata, Badamtala, Taltala, Champatala, Dalimtala etc., from the Bengali names of the particular trees (*tala*-shade, the trees being Bar, Nim, Nebu,^(c) etc.) that were conspicuous in these localities. It is surprising that the Indian people should tenaciously hold to these ancient names down to the present day, although the localities have, with but few exceptions, been differently designated since a very long time. Bartala survives in Burtola Street and Burtola thana, not far from which on the Chitpur road is still to be seen the banian tree which, according to some people, gave the locality its original name. Nimtala, Nebutala, Banstala, Amratata, and Taltala also survive in the names of streets. Kadamtala survives still in the name of a *ghāt*, while Boinechitala, Badamtala, Gabtala, and Jhawtala exist only in the memory of people. Puddopooker derived its name from a tank that was full of the *padma*, a term that is equally applied in Bengali, to the lotus and the water-lilies. The name of Entally, originally *Hintally*,^(d) recalls to our mind the earliest stage of the locality when the *Hintal*,^(e) a species of the date-palm that grows only on land subject to the influence of tides, used to be abundant in the locality and yielded to the poor, its leaves for thatch, its small trunks for sticks to scare snakes away with, and its longer trunks for rafters to their huts. Simlea (Simulea) got its name from the *simul* or cotton tree which used, it is believed, to be cultivated at one time for its cotton before the *kapas* (*Gossypium*) which gave its name to Kapasdanga,

(a) Ripon's "Monara."

(b) See Chapter III.

(c) Bar = *Ficus indica*, Nim = *Asadirachta indica*, Nebu = *Citrus indica*, Kadam = *Narcissus kodamba*, Bel = *Egle Marmelos*, Boinch = *Placourtia repens*, Baus = *Rambusa arundinacea*, Gab = *Diospyros glauca*, Jhaw = *Casuarina variegata*, Amra = *Spondias dulcis*, Dadam = *Terminalia Catappa*, Tal = *Borassus flabelliformis*, Champa = *Mopania champasa*, Dalim = *Pennisetum granatum*.

(d) See Appendix Chapter VI.

(e) *Phoenix paludosa*.

was imported. Hogalkuria was named from the large number of huts that were thatched with the *Hogla* leaves, the *Hogla* ⁽¹⁾ being a species of elephant-grass that grew in abundance in ponds and ditches of the locality, as they grow now in patches, by the side of the railway line off Narikeldanga, which, again, gets its name from its preponderance of cocoanuts. Golpukur and Goltalao obtained their names, not because the tanks were round when originally excavated, as some have supposed, but because they were stagnant cesspools that grew in their marshy beds, before their conversion into tanks, the *got-pata* with which huts and umbrellas are still thatched for the use of the native poor. Mirzapur is derived, not, as some have said, from a Muhammedan "Mirza Saheb," but from its having been reclaimed from a marshy condition. Its original name was Mritaja-pur = a 'pur' or hamlet begot from 'mrit' or mud, while its neighbouring mauza on the west, Thuntuneah, was, in the consistence of its soil, hard as brick (*Thun-thun*, an onomatopœic term, representing to the Indian ear, the sound which two bricks emit when struck against each other). While the soil of Pataldanga, the mauza on the south of Mirzapur, was on the other hand, friable enough for the cultivation of the *patal*, ⁽²⁾ a delicacy in the old Bengali's herbal diet, that of Jhamapooker, just north of Mirzapur, was found to have caked harder than that of Thuntuneah, when a tank was for the first time, dug within it. Kantapooker was full of spinous shrubs when it was cleared of jungle and had a tank made in it for supplying the drinking water of its primeval settlers. 'Hedua' north of Thuntuneah is a corruption of 'Hrad'—a lake, the locality and the tank being famous for its underground springs of water which caused considerable delay in the excavation and deepening of the tank in Cornwallis Square, just like the tank at Wellington Square. ⁽³⁾ Dingubhanga, north of the Govindapur creek (Wellington Square and Creek Row), and Ooltadingi are both named from accidents to boats in the creeks that flowed through these localities in the old, old days, the one signifying "broken boats," the other "boats capsized," both, however, indicating the existence of a trade in fish at least, if not in any other article.

The next or fourth stage in the development of localities in the town is marked by their obtaining names from particular industries or occupations of the classes of people that formed its population. We have already seen how Machua-bazar and Nikariparah came to be named in pre-British days after the fishermen that tied up their boats in the creeks and lived upon their banks. Kolinga was named after the salt-workers and Molunga and Nimakpokta derived their names from the salt-works that used to be carried on there. Moocheepara, Moocheebazar are also examples of this kind, indicating the hamlet and mart respectively of the cobblers and shoemakers.

With the growth of a heterogeneous population came the necessity of allotting particular areas to particular races. Thus, shortly after the English came, the Portuguese who were then the only people who kept fowls, the rest of the inhabitants being Hindus to whom fowls are forbidden, were allotted a quarter which came to be designated as Murghibatta, and the Armenians a *tola* or division which was named *Armani-tola*. With the unprecedented increase of the Calcutta population, due to the Mahratta invasions, the necessity of separating the classes and industries became still further apparent. It was accentuated when, after the battle of Plassey, the English became the rulers of Calcutta and its inhabitants increased by leaps and bounds. We then find the Court of Directors of the East India Company enjoining that the Company's workmen should be allotted "separate districts" in the town. Pursuant to this policy, Holwell, then Zamindar (Magistrate-Collector), distributed his tenants into groups according to their occupations and allotted each group a distinct quarter in the town. Thus originated *tolas* and *tolis* (diminutive of *tola*) meaning quarters, of the different trade-guilds:—Kumartuli for the *Kumars* (potters), Colootola for the *Kulus* (oil-pressers), Jeliatola for the *Jelias* (fish-catchers), Domtooly for the *Doms* or scavengers and basket-makers, Goatooly for the *Goalas* (Holwell's

(1) *Typha elephantina*.

(2) *Coccoloba indica*.

(3) See *Beveridge's Census Report*, 1876, page 48. The Wellington Square tank cost Rs. 2,76,000 and took two and a half years to excavate, in consequence of numerous springs on the site, which caused the banks to give way. It gave trouble ever afterwards and was eventually converted into a subterranean reservoir in connection with the water works.

'palanquin-bearers,' milkmen), Ahiritola for the *ahirs* (Behari goāllās as distinguished from Bengali goāllās) Cossaitola, for the *Cossais* (butchers), Pattuatola for the *Puttuas* (painters), Sankaritola for the *Sankaris* or *Sankshabanias* (conch-shell-workers), Beparitola for the *Beparis* (petty traders), Kambulitola for the *Kambulias* (people dealing in country blankets); also Haripara (*para* or quarter of the *Haris* or sweepers who were located, as now, in different parts of the town at intervals from each other, and hence there are several Hariparas), Kansaripara (for the *Kansaris* or bell-metal workers), Kamarpara and Kamar danga (quarters for the *Kamars* or blacksmiths), Musalmanpara (quarters for the Musalmans), Ooryapara (for the Ooryas), Darzipara (for the tailors), Khalasitola (for the *Khalasis* or lascars), Dhobapara (quarters of the washermen), Tolipara (of the oil-mongers), Baniatola and Baniapara (for the Banias or traders), Badiapara and Badiadanga, the place of gypsies, Chootarpara (the *para* or quarter for the carpenters), Jugipara (of the *jugs* or weavers), Sakrapara (of the *Sakras* or goldsmiths), Sikdarpara (of the *sikdars* or vendors of articles carried on pack-bullocks), and so on.

With the increase of population increased the number of hāts or temporary markets, and the more important or prominent articles sold in them gave their names to the locality. Thus originated *Darmahatta* and *Darmagulley* (the place for bamboo-mats called *darmas*), *Sabjihatta* (for *Subji* or vegetables), *Machhohatta* (for fish), *Amhati* (for sale of mangoes), *Dahihatta* (for sour whey), *Mayarahatta* (for the *Mayaras* or sweetsellers), *Sutahatta* (for *Suta* or thread), etc., *Chinipati* (the *pati* or para-quarter, for the sale of *Chini* or sugar), *Maidapati* (for flour) *Sinduriapati* (for *Sindur* or vermilion), *Kapurapati* (for *Kapur* or clothes), *Chaulpati* (for *chaul* or rice), etc., etc.

That Kalishetra was under Muhammadan rule is evidenced by the name of Maniktala. Pir Manik is essentially a Muhammadan saint, and Hindu allegiance to this saint is only a compromise between the rulers and the ruled. Maniktola existed long before the British acquired influence. The Fauzdar of Hooghly had his Calcutta Court—he was the Magistrate of the native Indian community even after the English settled at Calcutta—close to the mosque in Lower Chitpur road, a short distance to the north of its junction with Colootolla (Kalutola) street. Hence the locality is called "Fauzdari Balakhana" down to this day, and the only bazar of those days that lay to its north, was the Subah Bazar (latterly corrupted into Sobha Bazar) being the Bazar of the Subah (Government) of Bengal.

With the growth of British trade in Calcutta grew the wealth of its native bankers and banians, brokers and gomastas, and as their wealth increased, and they imbibed ideas of western comforts, their desire for pucca-houses for residence and for gardens increased. The reclamation of waste and jungle was very rapid between 1757 and 1800, and hence we had a very large number of localities scattered all over the town, named after the gardens. These names are still enshrined in the minds of the Indian residents who, if questioned about any locality, would give its garden name in preference to its more modern appellation. The garden-houses were most abundant at the east end of the "road and avenue leading to the eastward" which end, therefore, came to be designated as Boitak-khānā. Barretto, Peter Sukeas, Omi Chand, Govindaram Mitra, Huzuri Mall, Sobharam Bysack, and many Europeans had garden houses both on the east and on the west of the Mahratta Ditch, but more on the east than on the west of it. The circular road therefore, which was built out of the earth dug for the ditch, came at first to be called the Boitakhana road. The Mahratta Ditch having put up a barrier to the better and more numerous garden-houses, the origin of the name of the street was apparently forgotten towards the end of the eighteenth century. When, therefore, people found petty traders sheltering themselves under the shade of a huge banian tree where the present Boitakkhānā Road crosses Bowbazar street, and discussing the prices-current of the articles they brought to vend, it was imagined that these discussions had all along been held at a meeting or *boitak* of the traders, and that this had originated the name of the locality. As a matter of fact, however, mauza Boitak-khānā will be found in the Dihī Panchannagram maps, far to the east of the Mahratta Ditch. Bowbazar, a corruption of *Bahubazar*, is the locality where a number of petty bazars were held.⁽¹⁾ Under the umbrageous shade of

(1) We have failed to trace the *Baw* or daughter-in-law of the family of Bishwanath Mahtal to whose share the bazar is said to have fallen, and to whom its name is said to be due.

the tree which was called and even mapped as the Boitakkhana tree, was located for sometime a thana, and close by, existed a *hath* or car for the Hindu god Jagannath, said to have been seventy feet high, but neither the god nor his car imparted a name to any locality in the neighbourhood, although the *ghat* at the river-side up to which the car used to be pulled in the olden days, is still called after the god's name.

Besides the garden-houses of Barretto, Sukeas, Bysack and Hazuri Mall, all of whom are remembered in the names of the streets designated after them, and Sukeas in the name of a ward division as well, the most important garden-houses of the eighteenth century, were those of Omichand and Govindaram Mitter in Ooltadanga, in the native quarters of the town. The garden-houses of Europeans were of course far larger in size and number.

Perrin's garden at the extreme north of the town was named after Captain Perrin who owned several ships, among which was the *Scepter* which was seized by the company in 1707, for the alleged liabilities of the Captain, to Thomas Pitt, Benjamin Bowcher and others, but was released on receipt of evidence from Madras that the claims were unsustainable, and that the ship was no longer owned by Captain Perrin. The garden served for the Company's Covenanted servants during the Rotation Government, the same purpose which the Eden Gardens serve at present for the public. As the English left Sutanuti and Calcutta and moved down to Chowringhee about 1746, the garden began to be but little frequented, and in 1752 was altogether out of use and repair. So it was sold, in Holwell's time, for Rs. 25,000. Bagbazar is situated at its site, and owes its name to it, being the bazar in the *bag* or garden.

Surman's garden lay at the extreme south of the town. Surman apparently owned both Belvedere House and garden which were sold on his behalf by public auction and purchased by Captain Tolly of *nulla* fame. It was afterwards purchased by Hastings for the Governor's garden-house. Hastings had another garden-house on the south of it which was afterwards sold by Sir Charles Imhoff to the Nawab Nazim.⁽⁴⁾

Clive had a garden-house at Dum-Dum and Dr. Taylor at Garden Reach; Colonel Watson's garden-house was situated in Watgange which is but a contraction of Watson's *junge* or mart. Besides these there were many other garden-houses of Europeans in Boitakkhana, Balliaghata, Garden Reach and Russapagla, and also at Tannah and Sulkea on the opposite side of the river. Lord Auckland's famous garden-house was at Belgachia which afterwards passed to the Tagores. Debendra Nath Tagore sold it to the Paikpara Raja after failure of the Union Bank which impoverished him.⁽⁵⁾

The gardens, however, owned by the native residents, were not named after them in the early years of British rule. But few of them had yet become prominent enough for that honour. Besides, their so-called gardens were, in many cases, mere holdings or tenures fenced in for demarcation of ownership. The more important of these only need be named. Chorebagan was so named from the fact of its dense jungle affording a place of hiding to thieves, Mehendibagan from its being encircled by a myrtle hedge, though some attribute its name to Mirza Mehendi's ownership. Badoorbagan came to be named from a preponderance of bats or flying foxes, Goabagan from *gua* or betel-nut trees. Jorabagan was named after the *pair* of gardens, those of Omichand and Govindaram Mitra at Ooltadingi, for reaching which the road was originally made from the river's edge, and called Jorabagan road (see Upjohn's map of 1793-94). Hatibagan was the garden where the Nawab's elephants were kept during the siege. Phoolbagan, the flower-garden, Panbagan, the betel-grove, Kalabagan the plantain orchard, Narikelbagan the coconut plantation, Chaldabagan, the enclosure of the chalda-trees (*Dillium speciosum*), Kashinabagan, the garden, full of the couch grass, and Bakulbagan the garden full of the *bakul* tree (*Mimusops Elengi*), require no explanation of their origin, Surtibagan, famous in connection with the *surti* or lottery of the Lottery Committee, the lucky recipient of one of whose prizes wisely invested the amount in its purchase and Hartakibagan named from the myrobalam trees it grew, are both well known.

(4) See Buckland's *Bangal under the Lieutenant-Governors* Vol. II, pp. 1012-1020. Belvedere House was, we are told, originally constructed by Prince Ashup-us-Shan about 1700 A.D. The Governor of Hooghly is said to have occasionally resided in it, but no documentary evidence on the subject is traceable.

(5) *Ibid* page 1038.

And last, though not the least, of the gardens, is Halsibagan which takes us once more back to the old days, when Calcutta was a tidal swamp and grew in this quarter the *Halsi*, *Ægiceras fragrans*—a plant that refuses to grow in any place but such as are overflowed at spring-tides. It is certainly most remarkable that in spite of this locality having, for years, been the site of the garden-houses of the most eminent of the Indians of their days, it has retained its nomenclature intact down to this day, although, in more modern times, people of much less consequence, and sometimes of no consequence, have influenced the re-naming of ancient localities after them.⁽⁴⁾

Settbagan of which the Setts were the owners, was, however, a real garden, and has a history of its own. On September 11, 1707, the English Council abated its rent by "eight annas in a bigha" or Rs. 55 in all. Its area was, therefore, 110 bighas. The ground of the abatement was, that the Setts "were in possession of the ground which they made into gardens" before the English were in possession of the town, "being the Company's merchants and inhabitants of the place." The reduction was allowed on the condition that Janardan Sett, Jadu Sett, Gopal Sett, Baranasi Sett and Jaikrihna Sett should "keep in repair the highway between the Forts' land-mark to the nor'ward on the back side of the town."⁽⁵⁾ Rutton Sarcar's garden, named from the owner, an illiterate man who, under the protection of Nandarama Sen, the black zamindar, and others, made a large fortune; Rambagan named after Ram Ráy, who also owned and named a bazar after him; Rajabbagan, named after Raja Rajballav who sought and obtained against the Nawab, the protection of the Company; Nandanbagan, the pleasure garden of the black zamindar, Nandarama, and Mohanbagan, named from Rajah Gopi Mohan Deb, father of Rajah Sir Radhakánt Deb Bahadur, besides the more recent ones, Roybagan, Singheebagan, Bysackbagan, Bamunbagan, Patwarbagan, Comedanbagan, Bibeebagan, Dokariabagan, Gul Mahammad's bagan, Sikdarbagan, Tantibagan, Warisbagan, Wolfutbagan, are the few instances in which gardens have derived their nomenclature from their native owners. But except in the case of the Setts, of Nandarama, and, of course, of Rajah Rajballav, who were historically influential personages in the 18th century, they indicate a later stage in the development of localities, when a few native Indian gentlemen had, under the wings of British trade or protection, either amassed large fortunes, purchased large gardens and erected big buildings therein for their recreation and pleasure, or clustered together in convenient localities as a special caste or for a special calling. Keranibagan, however, recalls to mind the early days of the Company, when native Indians had not qualified for clerkships which were the monopoly of the East Indians. They were then called *Keranís* in Calcutta, as they are even now called in Orissa and elsewhere. Boitakhana was then, as it is now, their great centre, although Keranibagan itself on the south of it, has been abandoned by them since St. James's Church was removed from the locality. Short's bagan is quite as popular as was Short's bazar, both belonging to Mr. Short who, however, personally benefitted nothing by the large sums the Corporation spent in their improvements.

The next or last stage in the development of the localities in Calcutta was reached when men, both European and native, had become prominent persons in the service of the Government, and localities and streets, ghats, lanes, bye-lanes, tanks and squares came to be named after them. It will be seen from the map of 1794 that although several bazars, ghats, and tanks had already been named after persons, very few streets were so named even then. But the number of streets and lanes began to increase so very rapidly since the dawn of the nineteenth century, that the City Fathers found no way of designating them, except by calling them after the names of persons. It was not merely living personages, or indeed, residential men of note, after whom they came to be named. A few were named after historical personages unconnected with India, as the examples noted in the next Chapter will show, but a great many came to be named after insignificant individuals. From the list of the streets and lanes of the town named after men, it would appear that Hindu names preponderate; next come European and Eurasian names, while although the Muhammadan population of Calcutta is, in point of number, only next

(4) A Bengali writer attributes the name of the garden to one Mr. Halsay. We have some across this name in Pitt's correspondence (Wilson's *Early Annals* I 310.) He was Pitt's kinsman, but there is no evidence that he ever resided in this locality.

(5) Consultation 215, September 1707.

below the Hindu, they have imparted their names, comparatively, to few streets and fewer localities. ^(a)

With this material preliminary help from nomenclature as to the sequence in the evolution of the localities of the town, we may at once proceed to briefly describe their development, the main outlines of which we have already traced in the previous chapters.

It was, as we have already seen, only under the influence of the British settlement that the three ordinary, riparian villages, Chuttanutte, Calcutta and Govindapur, came to form the nucleus for the modern town of Calcutta. At first the English confined their early settlement to Chuttanutte, and in the year 1696 shifted to the adjoining village of Calcutta. Though bereft of all the features of a town, the settlement attracted in large numbers, as we know, people wishing for service and trade. In its earliest days the sphere of influence of the English settlement extended for three miles in length, from the Chitpur creek to the Govindapur creek, and about a mile in breadth, from the river Bhagirathi to the Chitpur Road. Beyond that road, which afforded the only means of access to the temple of Kalighat, spread jungles and pools, swamps and rice-fields, dotted here and there by the straggling huts and hovels of a small number of fishermen, falconers, wood-cutters, weavers and cultivators.

In 1717 Chauringi was a small village of isolated hovels, surrounded by puddles of water and separated from Govindapur by dense jungle. It consisted chiefly of bamboo-groves and paddy-fields. There was a tank called the "Goltalao" on the site of the Nunnery Church. The Esplanade was a jungle not yet cleared, "interspersed with a few huts and small pieces of grazing and arable lands." To the south of Chandpal ghât, which was then the southern boundary of "Dhee Calcutta," extended a forest, which was afterwards removed by degrees. It was not till 1746 that Europeans began to move into Chauringi. Chauringi-road is mentioned by Holwell in 1752, as "the road leading to Collegot (Kalighât) and Dee Calcutta." A bazar was held in it at that time as a check to the large expansion of the "Collegot market." Even in Upjohn's map of Calcutta (1794), we have found no more than one-hundred and forty-six houses in Chauringi, between Dharamtala and Birjitalao, the Circular Road and the plain. Dharamtala is so called from a famous old mosque that existed on the site of the present smaller mosque on the west of the stables of Messrs. Cook & Co. The ground including all adjacent land belonged to Jafir, Jamadar of Warren Hastings.

In the year 1742 the earth excavated in forming the Mahratta Ditch was so disposed on the inner or townward side as to form a tolerably high road, along the margin of which was planted a row of trees, and this constituted the most frequented and fashionable part about the town. An old writer states: "Now (1802) on the Circular Road of Calcutta the young, the sprightly and the opulent during the fragrance of morning in the chariot of health, enjoy the gales of recreation." The Muhammedans have five burial-grounds along this road in the neighbouring localities, namely, in Narikeldanga, Gobra, Kasibagan, Tangra and Karbela. Balliaghat, which is now the scene of busy and thriving trade, was a century and-a-half ago called the "Balliaghat passage through the wood." Sealdah is mentioned in 1757 as a "narrow causeway, raised several feet above the level of the country, with a ditch on each side, leading from the east."

In the accounts of old Calcutta left by Holwell and Orme, the Adiganga is some times confounded with and miscalled "Govindapur" creek, which was, as we have seen, the original name of the creek that issued from the river at the point where Hastings Street now meets it, and flowed into the Salt Water Lakes, north of Dharamtala, through Wellington Square and Creek Row. At present, as we all know, the Adiganga goes by the designation of Tolly's Nullah, from the fact that Colonel Tolly deepened its bed at his own expense in 1775, following the example of Surman of embassy fame, after whom it had before been named "Surman's Nullah." Surman's point which in early days, marked the site of the old pillar stone of the Company's boundary at Govindapur was the ground at the edge of the river at the south of which the *nulla* branched off. The channel, when excavated by Surman, was of very small dimensions, the Adiganga having been nearly silted up at its source from the diluviated debris of

(a) See next Chapter.

mauza Govindapur; but with the growing evidence of its increased usefulness, it was widened several times, until it now extends from Kidderpore to Tardha. Colonel Tolly opened out the way into the Sunderbans by connecting the Hooghly with the Bidyadhari. He also set up a bazar at Tollyganj, whence the name of the locality, and enjoyed its profits as well as the tolls on all craft using his canal.⁽⁶⁾ The nulla has again become a nuisance in many parts and an agitation has been set up for its improvement.

By the year 1756, just before its capture by Siraj-ud-daula, Calcutta was sharply demarcated into the "European and native towns" which were occasionally designated the "white and black towns" respectively. The English factory with its warehouses, workshops, offices and outlying houses, covered about a hundred and fifty acres on the bank of the Hooghly; the "native town" rose about half-a-mile to the north of the old fort and consisted of three or four large villages more or less remote from each other and from the English factory. These villages extended principally along the river from Bānstala to Bāgbāzār, and inland to the east of the Chitpur Road, over such places as Hogulkuria, Simla, and Kalutola. The villages in the vicinity of the factory were fast developing into an unpretentious city, under the stimulus of manufacture and trade. The whole town extended in breadth and was not, as we have seen, confined within the Mahratta Ditch. It comprised, as we know, the mauzas Baniapukur, Pagladanga, Tangra and Dallanda. Beyond, lay the Salt Water or the Great Lake as it was then called, then much larger and deeper than it is now, and overflowing every year during the rainy season. The town was dotted with only a few houses of brick and mortar, but the majority were mere "shanties" of mud and straw. There were bazars, tanks, gardens, and patches of jungle *galore* on all sides, enlivened here and there by the presence of pagodas, mosques, temples and two or three churches. The Armenians built a church of their own in 1724, to the south of Barabazar, in their own quarter, which lay intermediate between the Hindu town and the Christian town. The steeple of this church was completed in 1734 by Huzoori Mull, a Sikh millionaire, friend and subsequently executor of Omichand, the wealthiest native resident of the town in his day.

The Portuguese, who also lived close to the Armenians, raised a small brick church in 1700, and this was enlarged and improved in 1720.

The *Navarathna* or the Nine Jewels' temple, towered loftiest in the sky in the Hindu town. It was built by Govindaram Mitra, the "black zamindar," and was crowned with a lofty cupola.

In the early days of Calcutta, houses were generally of thatch and mud and of one story. "Such houses were appropriated for the use of the junior servants of the Company and the writers in the fort, which, having been on the ground-floor and in damp situations, proved fatal to a good many of them" and it is not therefore, surprising that garden houses should be, as they were, the rage of the hour among the servants of the Company. "The banks of Garden Reach, wrote Mrs. Fay in 1780, "are studded with elegant mansions, called garden-houses, surrounded with groves and lawns which descend to the water's edge, and present a constant succession of whatever can delight the eye, or bespeak wealth and elegance in the owners." The officers used frequently to get away to Barnsat, then comparatively healthier, for enjoying the freshness of country life and indulging themselves in pig-sticking. It was the training ground for young recruits in the army, for whom a school was established there, although ten miles from Calcutta. These frequent trips to the country were under the ban of the Court, which ultimately led to the order, that no European inhabitant of Calcutta was to go ten miles outside the city, without the Governor's special permission.

Even in 1758, houses with thatched roofs were built for the writers and officers of Colonel Coote, in the old fort, in order that they might be kept under some discipline and control. Before this, soldiers used often to roam about the town at night and create "inconveniences" and scenes by their quarrels. The principal place for promenading was, in the very early days, the "Park," at first called the "Green," which has since been known as the Tank Square, and now Dalhousie Square.

We have already seen from the maps, how with the solitary fort as the first brick-and-mortar house for a nucleus, in 1698, no less than 230 edifices

had arisen on its north and its south and its east in 1753, and no fewer than 1114 pucca houses all over the town in 1793-94. It would be tedious to follow the growth of houses in detail, but the more important ones may be briefly noted.

The first and most important building was, as we have already seen, the Fort (with the splendid house of the Governor within it), on the site of the present Custom House, "round and close to which," says Price in his Observations, "the English settlers by degrees built themselves very neat, useful, if not elegant houses, laid out walks, planted trees, and made their own little district neat, clean and convenient." The European town rose about the Fort, which extended from Fairlie Place to Koila Ghât. "The town rising about this Old Fort, like one about a baronial castle in the mediæval times, was built," says Captain Hamilton, "without order, as the builders thought most convenient for their own affairs, every one taking what ground best pleased them for gardening, so that in most houses you must pass through a garden into the house; the English building near the river's side and the natives within land."

The Church of St. Anne and the hospital were the next buildings owned by the Company, as already described. The value of the hospital for the relief of pain and suffering can be best estimated by Hamilton's facetious remark, that "many go in there to undergo the penance of physic, but few come out to give account of its operation."

The Post Office was originally located in Old Post Office Street in the premises just opposite to the house which is said to have been occupied by Sir James Colville in the last century. Hyde infers its probable existence in a corner of the burial ground as early as 1727 to 1737. The first Treasury included the building which was erected by Sir E. Coote for residential purposes in Council House Street. "We have heard," says Rev. Long, "that the Council was formerly held in the house which still stands, between Mackenzie's and Holling's offices, the scene of many a stormy discussion between Hastings and Francis."

The Court House for the Mayor was erected in the year 1727. Its site is at present occupied by St. Andrew's Church at the north-eastern corner of the Laldighi tank, as we have seen in Lieutenant Wills' plan. The "Supreme Court" sittings were first held in the old Court House, which was then a fine building and served the purpose of a Town Hall as well. It was considerably shaken by the cyclones of 1737 and subsequent years, and was in a ruinous and tottering condition in 1792, when it was pulled down by the orders of Government.

There was, as we have seen in Lieutenant Wills' plan of 1753, a play-house for the Europeans in the north-east corner of the Park, facing the old Court House. This theatre was "turned into a battery by the 'Moors' in the siege of 1757."

About the year 1760 a school was founded for the education of East Indian and European girls, by one Mrs. Hodges, who taught dancing and French exclusively. A charity school for Eurasian boys (the Free School) was first set up about 1727 by Mr. Bourchier, a merchant, who was afterwards appointed Governor of Bombay. In 1765 the school was enlarged to a great extent by private subscriptions, in consideration of which the Government agreed to subscribe Rs. 800 per mensem towards its maintenance. The present St. John's churchyard was then the European burial-ground. It contained at that time some 12,000 graves—the remains of all Europeans who had died in Calcutta since 1698. Another cemetery of proper dimensions was ordered to be erected in 1766 "without the boundaries of the town," inasmuch as the old burial-ground was much too confined within the environs of the city and proved quite detrimental to the health of the inhabitants, and the sanitation of the entire settlement. At the St. John's churchyard, even to this day, a mausoleum can be seen, at the north-east corner of the ground, which contains the last remains of Job Charnock. This, according to Hyde, is the oldest structure of brick and mortar made by the English in Calcutta. There lies buried, again, the famous Dr. Hamilton who cured Farruck-siyar of his illness and procured the Company their valuable privileges for free trade and 40 bighas of rent-free land, around the site of all their factories in Bengal.

The fortifications at Bagbazar, which were represented to Siraj-ud-daula as an extension of the English fortifications throughout their settlement, and which formed, therefore, one of the main causes for the Nabob's attack in 1756, were not formidable. They cost altogether Rs. 29,000 only. The purchase of an octagonal building on the riverside, the repairs of the Redoubt and the mounting of a few pieces of cannon, were about all that was done in 1754, and the work of repairs did not cost more than Rs. 338-6-0.⁽⁴⁾

In the year 1756 there were, as we have seen, only about 498 masonry houses in the town of Calcutta. These "lay scattered in spacious and separate enclosures" and had no "flues, venetians and glass windows," but "panelled doors and frames with a network of cane."

There is a tradition that the house occupied by Lord Clive stood on the site of the Royal Exchange.⁽⁵⁾ Some say that the building now occupied by Messrs. Graham & Co., was the residence of that soldier-statesman.

Warren Hastings' town-house was a very small one, on the site of the present Government House, but he also lived in another in Hastings, which was formerly occupied by Messrs. Barn & Co.

In the year 1763 the Board granted permission to Hastings to build a suspension bridge over the Kalighat Nullah, on the way to his garden-house. Nearly opposite this bridge, to the west of Belvedere, stood two banian trees, beneath whose shady branches Governor Hastings and Sir Philip Francis, Member of Council, fought their famous duel, in which Francis was wounded.

The Alipore residence of Sir Philip Francis, where he used to hold his weekly symposiums, is at present the official residence of the Magistrate of the 24-Praganas. Francis's Calcutta house, which was "the best in Bengal," according to the testimony of his brother-in-law and Private Secretary, Macrachie, stood just "behind the play-house" at the north-east corner of Dalhousie Square.⁽⁶⁾

General Clavering resided in the premises at the corner of Waterloo Street, occupied by Messrs. Winsor & Co., in 1882. This house is at present occupied by Messrs. Cuthbertson and Harper. Adjacent to this house lived General Monson in the premises "belonging to Messrs. Frere, Smith & Co. near Mangoe Lane," now known as 1 Mission Row.⁽⁷⁾

Richard Barwell's house was situated at Kidderpore. The premises were rented in the year 1798 by the "Managers of the Orphan Society." We cannot vouch for the truth of the conjecture that "Kidderpore House," 4 Diamond Harbour Road, where the Military Orphan School is at present located, may, probably, have been the residence of Barwell.⁽⁸⁾

Sir Elijah Impey lived, says Rev. Long, in "the very house now occupied as the Nunnery, a third storey only being added." Writing of the "Thackerays in India," Sir William Hunter says that Impey lived "near the present Loretto Convent." The house referred to by Mr. Long is still occupied by the Loretto House, and is known as 7-1 Middleton Row.

Sir William Jones lived in the "New Court House," which was situated at 2, Esplanade, on the very site of the present High Court. He also had a "bungalow in Garden Reach, nearly opposite to the (old) Bishop's College." Writing in 1852, Long, however, confessed his inability to ascertain the exact site of this building.⁽⁹⁾ In that sequestered bungalow, amidst philosophic calmness and academic repose, Sir William Jones studied Sanskrit under Jagannath Tarkapanchanan, and Arabic under Sadar-ud-din, the greatest *pundit* and *munshi* of their day. There he translated the *Manu-Samhita* and Kalidasa's greatest drama, *Sakuntala*, and from there kept up correspondence with Johnson and Burke. The Asiatic Society of Bengal was instituted by Sir William Jones, on the 15th January 1784, during the administration of Warren Hastings, who became its first patron. The present building was erected about 1806, and subsequently enlarged in 1839. The Society established a private museum

(4) Echoes from Old Calcutta, pp. 109-100.

(5) Barstow's Echoes from Old Calcutta.

(6) Barstow's Echoes from Old Calcutta.

(7) Rev. Long's article in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XVIII, page 304.

(8) Foster-Kear's "Selections from Calcutta Gazetteer," Vol. II, page 527, where an advertisement occurs, dated the 11th October, 1798, notifying the sale by public auction of the "Property of Richard Barwell, Esq."

(9) We have heard it stated that premises No. 5 Kidderpore, now in the possession of the L. G. S. N. Co., was occupied by Sir William Jones.

"for the reception of all articles that may tend to illustrate oriental manners and history, or to elucidate the peculiarities of nature or art in the East." Extensive collections of archaeological and natural objects were gradually brought together, which appeared so valuable, that it was decided to approach the State, with the prayer to preserve them in a national building. The Government readily consented to erect an Imperial Museum in which the treasures of the Asiatic Society might be arranged and exhibited, together with the palaeontological and mineralogical collections of the Geological Survey of India. In the year 1866, the Indian Museum Act was passed, and the Asiatic Society's Museum became the property of the Government of India. The building has since undergone extensive additions and alterations, and with its new wing for the art gallery, forms one of the largest, though, perhaps, not stateliest, of the Calcutta public edifices.

Sir Robert Chambers, who succeeded Sir Elijah Impey as Chief Justice, lived in the house at Kashipur (Cossipur), known in his time as "Kashipur House," which still stands on the river-bank. He had a retreat far out of town, within sight of the present Cathedral, which was quite dangerous at night from the visits of tigers. There the learned Orientalist revelled in the study of his valuable manuscripts, which were subsequently purchased by the King of Prussia.

The Bank of Bengal was founded on the 1st of May 1806, under the designation of the Bank of Calcutta, but no Royal Charter was granted till nearly three years after. The Bank assumed its present name on the 1st of January 1809.

The Ochterlony Monument is situated at the north-east corner of the Maidan as a great memorial to General Sir David Ochterlony. The structure is 165 feet high, and commands from the top, a most magnificent view of the whole city. Even Barrackpore, Dum-Dum, Fort Gloucester, and the Salt Water Lakes are visible. The subscriptions for its erection, amounted to forty thousand rupees, and were realised from all sections of the community—civil, military and mercantile.

The Town Hall stands at present on the northern side of the Maidan. When the Old Court House was pulled down in 1792, by the orders of Government, a meeting was held under the presidency of Sir William Jones, to raise subscriptions for the erection of another Town Hall. The present edifice, which is in the Doric style of architecture, was erected in 1804 at a cost of £70,000. It stands upon the site of a house where Mr. Justice Hyde resided and for which he paid a monthly rent of twelve hundred rupees. Sir Lawrence Peel, one of the Chief Justices of the Old Supreme Court, lived in the house which was afterwards converted into the Sultan Khana of the late ex-King of Oudh, Nawab Wajjad Ali, and is still in existence at Matiabrooj.

The house, which is at present occupied by the office of the Commissioner of Police, was the same in which lived Mr. John Palmer, the celebrated "merchant prince" of his days. Charles Grant, father of Lord Glenleg, who became Chairman of the Court of Directors, resided in "the first house on the right-hand side" at the beginning of Grant's Lane, from Cossaitela (Bentinck Street). In the same house lived, in his childhood, Lord Glenleg, who became Secretary of State for the Colonies (1834—39).^(a)

The house occupied by Lord Macaulay in Chowringhee has been converted into the Bengal Club.^(b) The locality just fringing the northern boundary of Calcutta is at present called Tollah, because it was originally named after old Mr. Tulloh, who carried on the business of an auctioneer. Kidderpore, on the southern outskirts of the city, is said to be denominated after Colonel Kyd, Chief Military Engineer to the East India Company and founder of the Botanic Gardens. It is, however, asserted by our Mahomedan brethren that both Ekbalpur and Kidderpore derive their names from Moghul dignitaries.

The western part of Calcutta formed the most populous, important and architecturally adorned quarters of the native town. It included Kumartoli, Hatkhola, Jorabagan and Barabazar, all stretching by the bank of the river. Here dwelt those powerful contractors who supplied goods for the Company's investment, and amassed great wealth. Here lived the chief banians who

^(a) Rev. Long's article in the Calcutta Review, Vol. XVIII.

^(b) Trevelyan's "Life of Lord Macaulay," Vol. I, page 381.

drove a thriving business and made large fortunes. "The Setts of Marshidabad, with the wealth of princes, had a *galt* (commercial seat) here. Many of the chief officers of the native Government, Rai Doorlab, Raja Manickchand and Futtehchand, had mansions in this part of the town."⁽¹⁾ The "Black zamindar," Govindaram Mitra, to the detection of whose frauds we owe the existence of Holwell's Tracts, lived in Kumartoli Banamali Sarkar, who was next to him in wealth and influence amongst the residents of the town, was famous for his magnificent residence, which formed so conspicuous a feature in the topography of the town as to be marked down on the old maps. The ruins of this house, which are nothing but a few steps of the ghât that led to the building itself from the river, still exist near Bagbazar. The Sikh merchant, Omichand, who is more famous for his big beard which has passed into a proverb, than for his wealth amongst native Indians,⁽²⁾ lived in his own house, north of the Laldighi, in the European quarter of the town. Vaishnab Das Sett, the accredited head of those Bysacks and Setts, of whom, as the pioneer traders of Calcutta, the late Babu Gurudas Bysack has told us so much, resided in Burra Bazar. His old Thakurbari behind the Mint still survives. Huzoori Mull, a wealthy Sikh merchant, lived at Burra Bazar in a very large house. He owned a garden house at Baitakhana, where he excavated a tank which still gives its name to a lane there, although it has long ceased to exist, and a small soorki mill now sends up its dirty smoke from its site. Raja Rajballav had his residence at Bagbazar. Maharaja Nabakissen's residence is shown in the plan of Calcutta, by Lieutenant-Colonel Mark Wood, in 1784-85 as having been the identical house, which was in the occupation of the late Raja Rajendra Narain Deb.

A small room of the famous house of Churamani Datta, who almost rivalled Maharaja Nabakissen in wealth, and always fretted for want of his power, still exists intact, we are told, at its old site.

On the north of Calcutta beyond the Mahratta ditch and the creek, almost due opposite Sulkea, was the palace of the Nawab of Chitpur, a favourite haunt of Europeans in the last century. The buildings and gardens were magnificent and sumptuously furnished in European style, and the Nawab Reza Khan lived on terms of intimacy with the "powers" of the day, inviting them often to his mansion. The foreign Governors, on their visits to Calcutta from Serampore, Chandernagar and Chinsura, came down to Chitpur, where a deputation received them, and they then rode in state up to Government House, mounted on the Nawab's splendid elephant and attended by his guard-of-honour.

Opposite Baitakhana, in the southern corner of Sealdah, there were, in those days, the houses which formed the Jockey Club, and the Restaurant for the sportsmen of Calcutta, who enjoyed their holiday by visiting the neighbourhood of Dum-Dum for shooting tigers and boars.

The most important modern buildings of the town are: (1) The High Court with its lofty spires, erected in 1872; (2) the Writers' Buildings with equally high spires, erected in 1879-84; (3) the Imperial Secretariat and Treasury Buildings 1877-82; (4) the New Customs House on the site of the old, 1899; (5) the General Post Office with its oval dome; (6) the Port Commissioners' Building, 1871; (7) St. Paul's Cathedral; (8) St. James's Church; (9) the Bank of Bengal, 1809; (10) the Mint, 1832; (11) the various mercantile offices and commercial buildings in Clive Street, Clive Row, Strand Road, Old Court House Street and Chowringhee, amongst which Gillander House, belonging to the Maharajah of Burdwan, the Hongkong and

(1) Marshman's "Notes on the left or Calcutta Bank of the Hooghly."

(2) The Bengali proverbs about this beard are:—

(১) নকু ধানের ছড়ি
কিটোনের বাড়ি
কছরি ধানের কচি
বন্দারী সরকারের বাড়ী ॥

(২) গোবিন্দ-হরের ছড়ি
কিটোনের বাড়ি
নকু ধানের কচি
ধরুর মেদের বাড়ী ॥

See the next Chapter for illustration of the meaning of these sentences. Nandarama and Govindarama, were both "Black Zamindars" and therefore famous for their materialistic ways. Omichand always remained famous for his beard, his wealth being above comparison. Huzoori Mull after Omichand was the wealthiest merchant in Native Calcutta. His successor in the title was Lakshminatha Dhar, nick-named Naku Dhar, while Banamali Sarkar and Madhusen Sen built the grandest houses in their time.

Shanghai Bank, Hamilton House, Mathewson's, the Great Eastern Hotel, the Grand Hotel, and the Army and Navy Stores, besides the National Bank of India, are the most notable; (12) the Asiatic Museum including the Art Gallery; (13) the General Hospital, 1895—98; (14) the Medical College Hospital and its adjacent branches, inclusive of the Eden Hospital built in 1882, the Ezra Hospital, the Eye Infirmary, the Students' Boarding House; (15) the Lady Dufferin Hospital, 1897; (16) the Senate House; (17) the old Hindu School and the Sanskrit College and the Presidency College, 1854; (18) the Government Telegraph office; (19) the Royal Insurance Company's House; (20) the East Indian Railway Company's offices at Fairlie Place, and (21) the Calcutta Public Library.

Of the houses owned by native Indians, the following are noteworthy, besides those already mentioned:—

- (1) The Prasad, and the Castle belonging to Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore at Pathuriaghata;
- (2) Maharaja Doorga Churn Laha's house in Cornwallis Street, formerly owned by the Palit family, of which Messrs. T. Palit and L. Palit, father and son of the High Court Bar and Indian Civil Service respectively, are the best-known representatives;
- (3) Raja Rajendra Mullick's palace at Chorbagan;
- (4) The Dighapatiya Raja's house in Circular Road;
- (5) Raj Chandra Dass's house in Jaunbazar Street, known as the Rani Rashmoni's house.
- (6) Rajah Digambar Mitter's house at Jhamapooker;
- (7) The temple of Pareshnath at Gouriberh;
- (8) The late Dwarka Nath Tagore's house at Jorasanko;
- (9) Rajah Sreekissen Mullick's house at Jorasanko where the Normal School used formerly to be located.
- (10) Ram Mohun Roy's house in Amherst Street;
- (11) The Woodlands, the residence of the Maharaja of Kuch Bihar at Alipore;
- (12) The Burdwan Maharaja's house in the same locality;
- (13) The Tollygunj Nawab's house; and
- (14) The late Mirza Mehendi's house on the Lower Chitpore Road.

Besides these, there are numerous fine houses of native Indian gentlemen.

Probably the most picturesque building in Calcutta is Government House, the winter residence of the Governor-General. The erection of this magnificent palace was undertaken in 1797 at the instance of the Marquis of Wellesley, who may be rightly called the Augustus of Calcutta, because he laid great stress on the indispensable necessity of having a regal residence for the Ruler of India. "India," wrote Lord Wellesley, "should be governed from a palace, not from a counting-house; with the ideas of a prince and not with those of a retail-dealer in muslin and indigo." The architect to whom was entrusted the duty of erecting for the Ruler of India a mansion consistent with the honour and dignity of a stupendous empire, was Captain Wyatt of the Royal Engineers. The stately and massive pile was finished about the year 1804 at a cost of 13 lakhs of rupees, the ground cost eighty thousand and the furniture half a lakh. The design of the building was adapted, with some important modifications, from that of Kedleston Hall, in Derbyshire, the ancestral seat of Baron Curzon of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. It is but in accord with the fitness of things that a scion of that illustrious house should be its occupant in due course. And we are not sure that to the Oriental mind, with its deep-rooted belief in predestination, the circumstance of Lord Curzon's present occupation of it, with greater honor, more glory and an infinitely stronger bond of sympathy with the people whom he has been charged to rule than has fallen to the lot of many of his illustrious predecessors, is not an indication of a Divine dispensation, arranged with a view to cement the bonds of England's Great Imperial Federation in which India and her heterogenous peoples, united into a harmonious whole, are likely to play an important, if not prominent part.

CHAPTER XII.

STREETS, SQUARES, TANKS, AND LANES.

HINDU KALIKSHETRA boasted of only two roads. One of these, with an avenue of trees at its sides, led eastwards from the zamindar's cutchery, which was at the site of the present Collectorate, to a ghât at the Adiganga, at its confluence with the Salt Water Lakes on the south of Sealdaha, then called Srighaladwipa.^(a) The other, wider than this, was the immemorial Pilgrim Road to Kalighat, which was dignified by the British with the name of Broad Street, where it bounded their first Settlement.

During the period of traditions, various small paths and bye-paths winded their tortuous ways, like the Zigzag, Serpentine, Crooked, and Corkscrew lanes of modern times, as branches of the two main roads to carry men and goods to the markets of Govindapur, Sutanuti, Hatkhola, and Barabazar, to Simlea and Algodam, to Baranagore, and Fort Garden Reach. These paths and bye-paths had no names.

After the British settlement was strengthened by the Fort, its trade necessities compelled the construction of roads for the transport and storage of goods brought in by their brokers and agents. With the increase in the number of the factors, the demand for more roads and walks became inevitable; and the roads to the north and south of the Fort, first constructed as branches of the "road leading to the eastward," were extended to the bank of the river and to the Govindapur creek to form the Rope and Respondentia Walks. The "road to the Court House," the "road to Prann's house," the "road to Surman's Garden," the "northern road to Perrin's Garden," the "road to Peter Sukeas' house," the "Jorabagan road," leading from the river to the twin garden-houses of Omichand and Govindaram Mitter, and a few others leading to the houses of well-to-do European, Portuguese and Armenian merchants, and the road to the Burial-Ground were amongst the first that were constructed in the earlier years of the 18th century. The Circular Road, made of the earth dug out of the Mahratta Ditch, became the broadest road in the town and was much frequented by Europeans, while the kutchra road to Baraset, as the Pilgrim Road in its northern part was called, served the same purpose for the native Indian populace. Excepting the roads in the immediate vicinity of the Fort and a small part of the road leading from the stone-paved ghât (*Pathuriaghata*) which had been metalled with ballast-stone purchased from ship captains, all the roads in the town were kutchra. As late as 1789, the "roads were," says Grandpré "merely made of earth; the drains mere ditches between the houses, and the sides of the road, the receptacles of all manner of abomination." Even in 1803, the streets in the "Blacktown" as the Indian portion of the town was called, were, according to Lord Valentia, narrow and dirty and the houses generally of mud and thatch. It was in that year that Lord Wellesley, in his famous minute, insisted upon the improvement of the town, in drainage, sanitation, symmetry and magnificence of its streets, roads, ghâts, and buildings. We have it, however, on the authority of Mr. H. E. Shakespear, that up to 1820, the improvements sanctioned by the Government had not been carried into effect, and the streets were, with four or five exceptions, kutchra, and the drains mere excavations by the roadside. Even in 1837, there were, we are told, no stones or gravel within fifty leagues of Calcutta to mend the roads with. Burnt and broken bricks were available but expensive; and a good many, therefore, remained kutchra.^(b)

We have, in a previous chapter, shown how the Lottery Committee opened out a great many streets, excavated a great many tanks, and improved the town in various other ways; how, according to Colonel Thauillier, the town improvements ceased with the abolition of the Lotteries; and how, with the establishment of the Corporation of the Justices in 1871, under Act VI of that year, a fresh era of Town improvements dawned, and streets, lanes, tanks, landing and bathing ghâts, drains, markets, houses and all other matters

(a) Kavirama's *Digbijayprakash*; See Chapter II.

(b) Beveridge's *Centenary Report 1876*, page 40.

connected with the sanitation and ornamentation of the metropolis obtained considerable attention. We have already noted the sequence in which the main improvements of the town came to be effected. Up to 1867 only two of the roads of the town were stone-metalled. In that year thirteen miles of Macadamised road were metalled with stone, and new layers of stone were laid on the two old stone-metalled thoroughfares. The stones used were partly obtained from the ballast of ships and partly brought down from Rajmahal. Steam rolling machines were first introduced in 1864 but they proved a failure. They were replaced by the Paris Rollers of 14 tons weight, which are still in use. Up to the time of the Lottery Committee, very few roads had been named after individuals. After 1871, their number became too large to be named otherwise than after the prominent citizens of the localities in which they were constructed. In many localities, there were no superior persons; tailors, rice-dealers, table-servants and cooks preponderated in others. Hence many streets and lanes in the town are named after unknown persons. It is impossible, in view of the space at our disposal, to give an exhaustive list of the public streets, lanes, tanks, and ghâts of Calcutta, and to indicate their derivation. We must, therefore, be content to deal only with the more important ones of each class and type.

Of the public roads in Calcutta two have been denominated after members of the Imperial Family. *Victoria Terrace* enshrines the memory of the late Queen-Empress, Victoria the Good, while *Albert Road* perpetuates the name of her illustrious consort, Prince Albert. *Victoria Gardens* have also been named in loving remembrance of our late gracious Queen. Not a few of the main streets and squares have been named after Governors-General of India. They are—*Hastings Street*, *Cornwallis Street*, *Cornwallis Square*, *Wellesley Street*, *Marquis Street*, *Wellesley Square*, *Wellesley Place*, *Wellesley Lane*, *Moir Street*, *Ainhorst Street*, *Bentinck Street*, *Bentinck Lane*, *Dalhousie Square*, *Canning Street*, *Ripon Street*, *Ripon Lane*, *Lanadowne Road*, *Elgin Road*.

The number of streets or squares called after Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, are, however, fewer. They are—*Halliday Street*, *Grant Street*, *Beadon Street*, *Beadon Square*, *Beadon Row*, *Grey Street* and *Eden Hospital Lane* while those named after the Governors of Bengal in the eighteenth century are *Charnock Place*, *Holwell's Lane*, *Clive Street*, *Clive Row*, *Clive Ghât Street*, and *Vansittart Row*.

Four of the streets have been denominated after Chairmen of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation. *Schalch Street* preserves the memory of the first Municipal Chairman, who was appointed in July 1863. *Harrison Road*, made in 1889, that of Sir Henry Harrison, Kt. *Hogg Street*, that of Sir Stewart Hogg, and *Metcalf Street* that of the late Mr. O. T. Metcalfe, c.s.i.

The number of streets and lanes named after Europeans is considerable. The more important of them, arranged alphabetically, are as follows:—

Blochman Street. Mr. Blochman was a noted Persian scholar and geographical writer.

Bonfield's Lane. William Bonfield was Beardmore's Calcutta agent. He was a leading auctioneer in the town in the 18th century.

Camac Street is named after Mr. Camac who owned an estate in Shorts' bazar, which was purchased by the Commissioners.

Dacre's Lane is named after John Dacre.

Duff Street. Dr. Alexander Duff was the pioneer of Missionary work in Bengal. He founded the Free Church Institution, which is now known as the Duff College.

Fairlie Place. Mr. Fairlie was the senior partner of Messrs. Fairlie Fergusson & Co., an old and well-known mercantile firm.

Grant's Lane. Charles Grant came to this country very poor, almost penniless, and afterwards rose to be Chairman of the Court of Directors.

Hare Street is named after David Hare (1775-1842), the father of English education in Bengal.

Harington Street. The Hon'ble H. B. Harington was a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. One of his descendants, the Hon'ble Richard Harington is at present a puisne Judge of the Calcutta High Court.

Larkin's Lane. William Larkins was the Church-Warden at St. John's Church.

London Street is called after the Countess of London.

Lyons' Range derives its name from Thomas Lyons. The Company granted him by a *pattah* the whole land intervening between the Church of St. Anne's and the Old Court House, for building the Writers' Buildings upon.

McLeod Street owes its nomenclature to Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel McLeod of the Indian Medical Service. He was Health Officer to the Corporation and afterwards a skilful medical practitioner and a Professor of the Calcutta Medical College.

Marsden Street reminds us of Frederick John Marsden, Chief Presidency Magistrate of the Police Court.

Middleton Street, } perpetuate the memory of Thomas Fanshaw Middleton,
Middleton Row, } who came out in 1814 as the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of the Indian Episcopate.

Outram Road } are named after the famous Major-General Sir James
Outram Street } Outram.

Phear's Lane. Sir John Budd Phear, was a pious Judge of the Calcutta High Court. He was afterwards Chief Justice of Ceylon. He did much while in India, to bridge the gulf between the rulers and the ruled, and was honoured by the native Indian community for his broad and hearty sympathy with their ideas and aspirations. He is a great friend of the Indians visiting England.

Robert's Street. Mr. Roberts was a capable Police Magistrate. When differences arose between him and Sir Stewart Hogg, the Commissioner of Police, he resigned his appointment and became Superintendent of Stamps and Stationery.

Robinson Street. Rev. John Robinson was a translator of the High Court. He died only the other day.

Russel Street and *Little Russel Street* are named after Sir Henry Russel, Chief Justice, who built the first house there on a spot now occupied by a Boarding House.

Short Street. Mr. Short owned extensive properties in Calcutta, including the famous bazars which were cleared and improved by the excavation of tanks by the Lottery Committee.

St. James's Square and *St. James's Lane* preserve the sacred memory of a canonized saint of the Anglican Church. The locality is called "Nera Girja" from the fact that the Church consecrated to the saint was devoid of a steeple.

Sukeas' Street, } Peter Sukeas was a celebrated Armenian merchant of great
Sukeas' Lane, } wealth and owned a large garden-house at Boitakhana.

Turnbull's Lane. Robert Turnbull was Secretary to the Calcutta Corporation for many years.

Wellington Street
Wellington Square } are named after the Great Duke of Wellington.
Wellington Lane }

Wood Street } are named after Mr. Henry Wood who, on the 13th
Upper Wood Street } July 1818, brought to the notice of the Lottery Committee, "the inadequate manner in which the establishment entertained for the purpose performed its duty in removing the filth."

Several streets derive their names from the most conspicuous institutions connected with the localities.

Theatre Road. Mr. Horace Hayman Wilson established in that quarter, with a few of his European friends, an Amateur Dramatic Society and a play-house called the Sans Souci Theatre. The plays acted in this theatre were at one time the *furor* of the European population.

College Street obtained its name from the old Hindu College and the Medical College, by the side of which it passed.

Medical College Street derives its name from the Calcutta Medical College.

Church Lane is so called from St. John's Church which is located by its side.

Municipal Office Street is similarly designated from the location of the office of the Calcutta Corporation on the Street.

British Indian Street. Formerly known as Rana Modda Gallee (the lane of excited fight). It was here that the force under Manick Chand fought a

close battle with the English at the siege of Calcutta. The street is now known as the British Indian Street from the British Indian Association, the premier Association of the zamindars of Bengal, which is located in it.

Pratoria Street. It is so called from its being designated on the same day that the British flag was unfurled in Pretoria.

The Streets of Calcutta which owe their designation to the names of Muhammadans are only few and far between. Many of them belong to individuals of whom little or nothing is known. By far the greater number refers to persons who filled the lowest rungs in the social ladder and rejoiced in the humble avocations of tailor, butler, or book-binder.

Boddoo Ostagur's Lane, Gooloo Ostagur's Lane, Lal Ostagur's Lane, and Nawabdee Ostagur's Lane are all named after tailors, who plied their trade with such success in the localities, as to be reckoned the chief residents, while *Nemoo Khansama's Lane, Chukoo Khansama's Lane, Koreem Bux Khansama's Lane, and Panchoo Khansama's Lane* remind us of the good old days when butlers in the house-holds of European gentlemen were conspicuous persons among their fellow-countrymen.

Shureef Duffree's Lane, Ruffek Sorang's Lane, and Inambuz Thanadar's Lane are denominated, respectively after a book-binder, a ship's *sorang*, and a constable in charge of a police-station, who were, amongst the residents of the localities, most influential in the olden days, when Calcutta was peopled mostly by men of their stamp, at least in the particular quarters where they resided. With the development of the town, the better classes of Mussalmans began to settle down here, and clerks and writers gave their names for designating their own localities. As examples we have *Moonshes Alimuddin's Lane, Moonshes Dedar Bux's Lane, Moonshes Nakiullah's Lane, Moonshes Sudderuddin's Lane, and Moonshes Waliullah's Lane. Nazir Nafischoolla's Lane* is called after a subordinate ministerial officer who served as Nazir in a Judge's Court.

But as education amongst Mahomedans advanced under the auspices of British rule, and Persian scholars and English-educated Mahomedans began to hold high positions under the Government, the Municipal authorities indented upon these higher functionaries to denominate their streets and lanes. Nor did they omit Mussalman merchants. As examples, we have the following lanes:—

Maulvis Buztur Rahman's Lane, Maulvis Golam Sobhan's Lane, and Maulvis Imdad Ali's Lane are lanes designated after persons who possessed considerable influence in society and were highly respected as custodians of Moslem culture and professors of Arabic or Persian.

Mirza Mendoo's Lane. Mirza Mendoo was a wealthy Shiah Merchant, whose *Muharrum* procession in the town is well-known for its brilliant display of richly-caparisoned horses, and ornamental flags and *tarias*.

Nawab Abdool Lateef's Lane. Nawab Abdool Lateef Bahadoor was an ornament of the Provincial Executive Service. His valuable services won for him as a mark of appreciation from the Government he served so faithfully, the titular distinction of Nawab Bahadoor, and a special pension on his retirement. He was universally popular among all sections of the European and Indian communities for his large-hearted sympathy and amiable disposition. He became afterwards Prime Minister of the Muhammadan Feudatory State of Bhopal.

The largest number of streets in Calcutta derive their cognomen from Hindus, who form the majority of the population. They are, arranged alphabetically, as follows:—

Abhoy Churn Mitter's Street. Abhoy Churn Mitter was the grandson of Raghu Mitter and great-grandson of Govindaram Mitter, the notorious "Black zamindar" of Holwell's time. He was Dewan of the Collector of the 24-Paraganas, and reputed as the generous donor of one lakh of rupees to his spiritual preceptor.

Akhoy Kumar Bose's Lane. Akhoy Kumar Bose belonged to the Bose family of Kantapukur, Shambazar.

Bheem Ghosh's Lane. Bheem Ghosh is said to have attained cheap notoriety among his contemporaries for regaling his invited guests with scanty dishes.

Bhuban Mohan Sircar's Lane.—Dr. Bhuban Mohan Sircar is still alive and is an old medical practitioner of Calcutta. He was Secretary to the Bengal

Temperance Society, which has now ceased to exist, and was a municipal commissioner for a number of years.

Bissonath Muttial's Lane. Bissonath Muttial was the founder of the Muttial family of Bow Bazar. He began life as Muharrir in a Salt Golah on Rs. 8 per mensem and ended with leaving 15 lakhs of rupees. He established the Bow Bazar, which is now a flourishing market. The present Maharajah of Nadia and the young Raja of Bhowal have married into his family.

Vaishnav Charan Sett's Street. Vaishnav Charan Sett was the son of Janardan Sett, who was the Company's broker during the early years of the eighteenth century.

Banamali Sircar's Street. Banamali Sircar was a Sadgop (cultivator) by caste and the son of Atmaram Sircar, who settled in Kumartuli. Banamali was at first Dewan to the Resident at Patna and afterwards Deputy Trader to the East India Company in Calcutta. His magnificent residence built in Kumartuli during the years 1740-50, has passed into a Bengali proverb.

Brindaban Bose's Lane. Brindaban Bose belonged to the Bose family of Bagbazar.

Brindaban Bysack's Street. Brindaban Bysack was a wealthy member of the Bysack family who are said to have been brought to Govindapur by the Setts for purposes of intermarriage.

Brindaban Ghosh's Lane. Brindaban Ghosh earned his living as an humble clerk. He was book-keeper of the mercantile firm of Mackillup Stewart and Company.

Doorga Charan Mitter's Street. Doorga Charan Mitter belonged to the Mitter family of Darjiparah.

Doorga Charan Mukerjee's Street. Doorga Charan Mookerjee made money as Dewan of the Opium Agency at Patna. He built a bathing-ghât at Bagbazar in his name.

Doorga Charan Pittoory's Lane. The Pittoories were one of the earliest families of Brahmins to settle in Calcutta. Doorga Charan was a well-known capitalist and contractor. He was entrusted with the contract of building the new Fort and is said to have enriched himself thereby.

Doctor Doorga Charan Banerjee's Lane. Doorga Charan Banerjee was a well-known physician of remarkable powers of diagnosis. He was spoken of by his patients as the very incarnation of Æsculapius. His second son, the Hon'ble Surendra Nath Banerjee, is a powerful orator and well-known publicist.

Durponarain Tagore's Street. Durponarain Tagore, great grandfather of Maharajah Bahadur Sir Jotendro Mohan Tagore, K.C.S.I., was grandson of Panchanan Thakur who settled at Govindapur towards the end of the 17th century. His father Joyram removed to Pathuriaghata. Durponarain amassed a large fortune as a merchant and by serving the French Government at Chandernagore as Dewan.

Dwarkanath Tagore's Lane. Dwarkanath Tagore began life as a Pleader; then he became Sheristadar to the Collector of the Salt Department and afterwards Dewan of the Board of Revenue. Later on, he set up business on his own account as a merchant and in conjunction with several European and Bengali gentlemen, established a Bank and a number of indigo silk and sugar factories. He twice visited England, and on his first visit, received honors at the hands of the late Empress Victoria. During his sojourn in the west he was dubbed "Prince Dwarkanath" for his lavish hospitality and magnificent gifts. He died in Belfast and lies buried in Kensal Green.

Falgon Das Lane. Falgon Das was a native of Orissa. He earned considerable wealth by supplying ships with coolies for the delivery of goods and acting generally as Banian to the Captains.

Gobinda Chunder Dhar's Lane. Govinda Chundra Dhar is still enjoying life as a Government pensioner. He was Head Assistant to the Medical Board.

Gocool Mitter's Lane. Gocool Chundra Mitra was the son of Sitaram Mitra, who came out from Bally and settled in Calcutta. He made a fortune by dealing in salt. Gocool Chundra had pledged to him the idol, Madan Mohan of the Vishnupur Raj, for helping Rajah Damodar Singh II with one lakh of rupees during his financial embarrassments. He has dedicated a splendid temple and char to the idol, Madanmohan.

Gaur Mohan Dhar's Lane. Gaur Mohan Dhar was the first Bengali plumber.

Girish Vidyaratna's Lane. Girish Vidyaratna was a leading Sanskrit scholar and a Professor in the Sanskrit College. He owned a large printing press.

Gungaram Palit's Lane. Gungaram Palit belonged to the Palit family of Dingabhangra.

Hem Chunder Kerr's Lane. Hem Chunder Kerr was a well-known member of the Provincial Civil Service.

Baranasi Ghose's Street. Baranasi Ghose was the son-in-law of Dewan Santiram Singh of Jorasanko. He was himself Dewan to Collector Gladwin. His cousin Balaram was Dewan to Dupleix at Chandernagore.

Hari Ghose's Street. Dewan Srihari Ghosh was the second son of Balaram, the Dewan to the French Governor Dupleix. He became Dewan of the East India Company at Monghyr. He made considerable money, the greater part of which was spent in charity. He was generous enough to shelter in his house a large number of the poor, helpless and needy, and an equal number of his indigent friends and relations. His house, thus crowded, was nicknamed "Hari Ghose's Gohal." A friend of his took advantage of his simplicity and guilelessness by appropriating to himself, his entire property. His last days were thereby clouded with pecuniary difficulties and were spent in Benares.

Harish Chunder Mookerjee's Road. Harish Chandra Mookerjee, was the right-hand man of Lord Canning during the dark days of the Mutiny. In the *Hindoo Patriot*, of which he was editor, he wrote against the Indigo-planters. He has been called the pioneer of political agitation in this country.

Huzoori Mull's Lane. Huzoori Mull was a Sikh merchant whose wealth passed into a proverb. He excavated a large tank at Boitakkhana which went by his name till filled up. He constructed the Ghat immediately below Raja Woodmant's Street, which is now known as Armenian Ghat. He built the steeple of the Armenian Church and gave away several bighas of land at Kalighat where he constructed a pukka ghat near the temple. He is said to have done eminent services to the English at the battle of Buxar.

Jodoonath Dey's Lane. Jodu Nath De was the chief accountant of the Calcutta Municipality.

Joy Mitter's Ghat Lane. Joy Mitter, son of Ram Chandra Mitra, was Banian to the Captain of a merchant-vessel. He built the "dwadas mandir" (twelve temples) at Barnagore Ghat.

Jagadish Nath Roy's Lane. Jagadish Nath Roy was a native of Kanchrapara in the district of 24-parganas. He was an able officer in the Police Department and rose to be District Superintendent of Police.

Juggobandhu Bose's Lane. Dr. Jagabandhu Bose was a medical practitioner of repute in Calcutta. He was an M.D. of the Calcutta University. He made quite a fortune in the healing art and founded the College of Physicians and Surgeons.

Kali Prasad Dutt's Street. Kali Prasad Datta, was the son of Churamani Datta, the great rival in wealth of Maharaja Nubkissen.

Kashee Ghose's Lane. Kashee Ghose, son of Rama Deva Ghose, Dewan of the Nadia Raj, was Assistant Banian to Messrs. Fairlie, Fergusson and Company, and made a large fortune.

Khelat Chandra Ghose's Lane. Khelat Chandra Ghose was the grandson of Dewan Ramlochan Ghose, who was sircar to Lady Hastings, but was familiarly known as Hastings' Dewan. Khelat Chunder's uncle, Anandanarayan was the owner of Dhurumtollah Bazar, which was at one time named Ananda Bazar.

Keshub Chunder Sen's Lane. Keshub Chunder Sen (1838—1884) was the apostle of religious reform in Bengal and the accredited leader of the Brahmo Somaj movement. He established the New Dispensation Church, which is essentially eclectic in its doctrines and tenets, and recognises the underlying harmony and fraternity of all the world-religions. Keshub Chunder was the grandson of Dewan Ramcomul, who came from Gorifa in 24-Parganas, to settle in Calcutta in 1800 and became successively Dewan of the Mint and Bank of Bengal. Keshub's wonderful powers of oratory and religious enthusiasm won for him the admiration, not only of his own countrymen, but of a great many thinkers of the religious world. When he visited England in 1870 he was

received with respect and attention by the people of England and had the honour of being presented to the late Queen-Empress Victoria and a few members of the Royal Family. His charming personality and fervid eloquence created much interest in England in the Brahmo religion. The legislative enactment which legalised all marriages between self-acting parties beyond the pale of any of the religious denominations, was passed into law at his instance and initiative. He married his eldest daughter to the present Maharaja of Cooch Behar. He died on the 8th January 1884.

Kristo Das Pal's Lane. Kristo Das Pal (1838—1884) was far and away the greatest journalist and publicist that India has yet produced. He rose from humble beginnings to be the Editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*, and Secretary to the British Indian Association, which represents the powerful aristocracy of Bengal. He was Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner and Member of the Imperial Legislative Council. The zemindars of Bengal, in recognition of his valuable services on their behalf, have voted him a marble statue which adorns the junction of Harrison Road with College Street.

Krishoram Bose's Street. Dewan Krishnaram Bose, son of Dayaram Bose, of whom we have already had a glimpse in connection with the allotment of Mir Jafar's restitution money^(a) was born in 1733. He was at first a dealer in salt and made quite a fortune in that business. He was appointed Dewan of Hooghly on a salary of Rs. 2,000 per mensem. At the time of famine, he gave away to the poor and hungry many thousand maunds of rice to the value of one lakh of rupees. He built many temples in Benares and adorned the road that leads from Cuttack to Puri with mango trees, with the generous object that pilgrims might enjoy the delicious fruits while resting under their cool shade. Krishnaram died in 1807 at the ripe old age of 74.

Lal Muthub Mookerjee's Lane. Dr. Lal Madhub Mookerjee is a living medical practitioner of Calcutta. He was a Member of the Subordinate Medical Service and was made a Rai Bahadur after his retirement from the service.

Mohesh Chunder Chowdhry's Lane. Mahesa Chandra Chowdhry was one of the foremost Vakeels of the High Court. He died in 1890. The late Sir Romesh Chander Mitter used to say that he had known no better lawyer than Babu Mahesa Chandra.

Mahendra Nath Gossain's Lane. Mahendra Nath Gossain is a living Vaishnava preacher.

Manohar Dass' Street. Manohar Dass was a well-known merchant of Burrabazar.

Mathur Sen's Garden Lane. Mathur Mohan Sen, son of Jaymani Sen, was a celebrated poddar (money-changer and banker). He built a magnificent palace, with four huge gates, after the model of the Government House. In close proximity to this mansion which is at present in ruins, he built a *thakur-bari* (temple) and a flower garden which are still to be seen. On his death, Mathur Sen left very little property to his descendants.

Mutty Lal Seal's Street. Mati Lal Sil, (1792—1854) the multi-millionaire of Colootollah, was not born with a silver spoon to his mouth. His father, Chaitan Charan Sil, kept the wolf from the door by selling clothes. Mutty Lal secured in 1815 an humble appointment in the Fort. While so employed as a supplier of military stores, he speculated in the business of bottles and corks, which brought him no little fortune. He then resigned his situation in the Fort and became Banian to the Captains of merchant vessels. He worked in that capacity for nine years, and "the fair goddess, Fortune, fell deep in love with him." He afterwards rose to be the Banian of three European mercantile firms. He established the Seal's Free School for the education of the sons of the poor and the needy, and attached a free Boarding-house to this school. He built a guest-house at Belgharia, where five hundred men were fed sumptuously every day. He made a free-gift of land for the Fever Hospital.

Maddan Mohan Chatterji's Lane. Madan Mohan Chatterji was the grandfather of Amarendra Nath Chatterjee, a prominent vakil of the High Court.

Nemoo Gossain's Lane. Nemoo Gossain (Nimai Charan Goswami) was a pious Vaishnava.

(a) See Appendix, Chapter VII.

Nemai Churn Bose's Lane. Nimai Charan Bose is a prominent solicitor of the High Court.

Nilmadhab Sen's Lane. Dr. Nilmadhab Sen was a celebrated oculist.

Nilmoney Dutt's Lane. Nilmani Datta was a medical practitioner.

Nilmoney Haldar's Lane. Nilmani Haldar was the brother of the notorious Frankissen Haldar of Hooghly, who was sentenced to transportation for forging Government promissory notes. Nilmani Haldar suffered rigorous imprisonment for aiding and abetting his brother in his foul crime.

Nilmoney Mitter's Street. Nilmani Mitra belonged to the Mitra family of Darjipara. He flourished in the time of the English acquisition of India and was a contemporary of Omichand.

Nabin Sircar's Lane. Navin Krishna Sircar was a member of the Provincial Executive service.

Nabo Coomar Raha's Lane. Nava Kumar Raha was an actor in the Royal Bengal Theatre.

Narendro Nath Sen's Lane. Narendro Nath Sen, son of Hari Mohan Sen, Prime Minister of Jeypore, is a veteran journalist. He is the editor of the *Indian Mirror*, and is a solicitor of the High Court. He was a Municipal Commissioner of the city for several years, and represented it in the Bengal Legislative Council for two years (1898-1900). A recently-made square is named after him.

Nanda Lal Mullick's Lane. Nanda Lal Mullick was the son and heir of Rajah Shama Churn Mullick. The Mullicks of Pathuriaghata were among the earliest residents of Burrabazar; they built their princely fortune through commercial relations with the East India Company.

Nanda Lal Bose's Lane.—Rai Nanda Lal Bose is the grandson of Jagat Chandra Bose of Kantapookur, Shambazar.

Nanda Ram Sen's Street. Nanda Ram (Nandarama) Sen was the "black deputy" or "general supervisor" in 1700, when Ralph Sheldon became the Collector of Calcutta. But no sooner Benjamin Bowcher had succeeded Sheldon, than Nanda Ram fell under suspicion and was summarily cashiered. In 1707 the post remained vacant for several months, during which Nanda Ram again acted as the assistant to the Collector. When he was displaced, it came out that he had been guilty of extensive peculation. Nanda Ram fled to Hooghly but was given up by the Governor of the place, and was imprisoned for a long period by the order of the Council, but was released on payment of the money due by him. He built a bathing-ghât on the river, called the Ruthtolla Ghât.

Omesh Chunder Dutt's Lane. Mr. O. C. Dutt of the Rambagan Dutt family, is the grandson of Rasamay Dutt, who was book-keeper of Messrs. Davidson & Co., and afterwards a Commissioner of the Court of Requests.⁶⁰ Mr. O. C. Dutt acted for many years as a Municipal Commissioner and for some time as Vice-Chairman of the Municipality. He also served the Calcutta Corporation for a long period as Collector of Rates and Taxes. He is an Honorary Presidency Magistrate, and a writer of charming verses in English. Mr. Dutt's family has embraced Christianity and is well-known for culture and poetic accomplishments.

Anath Deb's Lane and Anath Babu's Bazar Lane. Anath Nath Deb is the adopted son of Premathanath Deb (better known as Latu Babu), and grandson of Ramdulal Dey (Dulal Sarkar), who acquired a very large fortune through the active co-operation of Madan Mohan Datta of Hatkhola.

Pashupati Nath Bose's Lane. Rai Pashupati Nath Bose is the grandson of Jagat Bose of Kantapookur, Shambazar. He was for many years a Municipal Commissioner.

Peary Charan Sircar's Street. Peary Charan Sarkar (1823-1876) was a veteran educationist and a temperance reformer. For his wonderful grasp of

⁶⁰ The Court of Requests, according to Holts, consisted of 24 Commissioners, selected originally by the Governor and Council from among the principal inhabitants of Calcutta, who were appointed to sit every Thursday, with power to hear and determine, suits in a summary way, under such orders and regulations as were from time to time given by a majority of the Court of East India Directors. The Commissioners, or any three, or more of them, sat in rotation, and had full power and authority to determine all such actions or suits as were brought before them, where the debt or matter in dispute did not exceed the value of five pagodas or forty shillings. One half of the number of Commissioners, being those who had served longest, were removed by rotation annually, on the first Thursday in December, and an equal number were chosen by ballot from among themselves.

intricate educational problems, and the defects and shortcomings of his pupils, he could be fitly compared to Dr. Arnold of Rugby. After leaving the Hindoo College where he obtained a name and fame for himself as a student, Peary Charan was appointed Head Master successively of the Hooghly Branch School, Baraset Government School, and the Hare School at Calcutta, where he served for many years. He afterwards rose to be Professor of English Language and Literature in the Presidency College. He was an ardent enthusiast in the cause of female education and temperance reform. He established a Girls' School in the neighbourhood of his residence and the Chorabagan Preparatory School and Bengal Temperance Society. He edited for sometime the Education Gazette. With him has passed away the admirable class of old Head Masters, who commanded respect and obedience by their wide culture, profound scholarship and large-hearted sympathy.

Prasanna Kumar Tagore's Street. Prasanna Kumar Tagore, youngest son of Gopee Mohan Tagore of Pathuriaghata, was the uncle of Maharajah Bahadur Sir Jotendro Mohan Tagore, K.C.S.I. He was not only the heir of a princely fortune, but a successful vakeel of the High Court. He made splendid bequests to the Calcutta University, where his marble statue adorns the vestibule. His magnificent endowment of three lakhs of rupees to the University forms the nucleus of the Tagore Law Professorship. He disinherited his only son, Jnanendra Mohan Tagore, the first Bengali Barrister-at-Law (son-in-law of Rev Dr. K. M. Banerjee) for becoming a convert to Christianity. Prasanna Kumar made generous contributions for the maintenance of temples and for a Sanskrit College at Moolajore in the district of 24-Parganas. He was an enthusiast for the developement of education and legal literature.

Protap Chunder Ghose's Lane. Protapa Chandra Ghosha was for many years the Registrar of Assurances and Joint Stock Companies in Calcutta. His father Hurro Chunder Ghose was a Judge of the Small Cause Court, Calcutta. Protapa Chandra has at present retired from Government service and is enjoying well-earned rest. He is the author of several Bengali books.

Puddo Nath's Lane. Padma Chundra Nath is a flourishing book-seller in China Bazar. He is a Jugi by caste.

Radha Nath Mullick's Lane. Radha Nath Mullick, a well-known zamindar, belonged to the Mullick family of Pataldanga.

Rajah Gooroo Das's Street.—Rajah Gooroo Das was the son of Maharajah Nanda Kumar. He was Dewan to Nawab Meer Jaffer.

Raja Harendra Krishna's Lane. Raja Bahadur Harendra Krishna was the son of Raja Bahadur Kali Krishna, and great grandson of Maharaja Nubkissen Bahadur. He was a member of the Provincial Executive Service and for many years Police Magistrate of Sealdah.

Raja Kali Krishna's Lane. Raja Bahadur Kali Krishna, K.C.S., was the grandson of Maharaja Nubkissen Bahadur. His fine marble statue adorns the Beadon Square.

Raja Gopee Mohan's Street. Raja Gopee Mohan was the adopted son of Maharaja Nubkissen Bahadur. He was famous among his countrymen for his musical tastes.

Raja Nubkissen's Street. Maharaja Nubkissen Bahadur is said to have constructed at his own expense this spacious road connecting Upper Chitpore Road with Upper Circular Road, and dignified it with his own honoured name. The latter half of the street is now no longer called after him.

Maharaja Nubkissen began life as Munshi to Hastings and rose to be Munshi or clerk to the East India Company. He crowned his career as their Political Banyan. He was employed on occasions and duties which might well tax the utmost resources of head and heart of a trained diplomat or a far-sighted statesman. He is credited by his biographer with having furnished the ideals and suggested the steps that led to the establishment of England's Empire in the East.

Raja Rajendra Narain's Lane. Raja Rajendra Narain Deb Bahadur was the second son of Raja Sir Radha Kanta Deb, K.C.S.I., and grandson of Raja Gopee Mohan Deb. He died last year at the ripe old age of 90. He was for many years President of the Indian Association.

Raja Mahendra Narain's Lane. Raja Mahendra Narain was the eldest son of Raja Sir Radha Kanta Deb Bahadur.

Raja Debendra Narain's Lane. Raja Debendra Narain was the youngest son of Raja Sir Radha Kanta Deb Bahadur.

Raja Rajballav's Street. Raja Rajballav was Naib or Deputy Governor of the province of Dacca. Siraj-ud-dowlah desired to despoil him of the vast wealth which had been acquired in the long administration of a wealthy province. But the cunning of the old Raja got the better of the young Nawab's cupidity. He fled from Moorshedabad where he was kept under surveillance and took refuge at Calcutta. His son, Kissendas, embarked with his father's immense wealth, and under pretence of going on a pilgrimage to Juggernath, came down to Calcutta, and threw himself upon the protection of the English. Nawab Kassim Ali Khan is said to have killed Raja Rajballav and his son in 1761 in a general massacre.

Rajendra Mullick's Street. Raja Rajendra Mullick was the adopted son of Vaishnav Das Mullick of the Pathuriaghata Mullick family. His splendid benefactions for relieving the distress of the poor and the famished were appreciated alike by the Government and the people. During the Orissa famine, he fed sumptuously a large number of people every day, and he continued that practice after the famine his descendants; have kept up the institution.

Rama Prasad Roy's Lane. Rama Prasad Roy was the son of Raja Rama Mohan Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj and the greatest Bengalee reformer of the nineteenth century. Rama Prasad earned immense wealth by practising as a vakeel of the High Court. He was the first vakil to be appointed Judge of the High Court, but death prevented him from taking his seat on the Bench.

Ram Kanto Bose's Lane. Ram Kanta Bose belonged to the wealthy Bose family of Bagbazar.

Ram Mohan Mullick's Lane. Ram Mohan Mullick was the son of Nimai Charan Mullick^(a) of Burrabazar who made a deal of money by trade and speculation in salt and land in the eighteenth century, and left a crore of rupees on his death. Ram Mohan increased his father's property by extensive trade. He built a ghat on the river in 1855.

Rutton Sircar's Garden Street. In 1679, the first British ship, Falcon, with Captain Stafford as the commanding officer, came up the river Ganges and anchored off Garden Reach. The Captain asked for a *dobhāsh*, that being the term used in Madras for an interpreter. The simple villagers did not comprehend what the English commander required of them, and they mistook the word *dobhāsh* for *dhoba*, a washerman, and accordingly sent one in their employ, named Ratan Sircar. The man was intelligent, and is said to have had a smattering knowledge of English which enabled him to understand the Captain's requirements, and his new employers were so much satisfied with him that he continued one of the principal native servants of the Company for many years. The *quondam* washerman became the English interpreter and became a wealthy man in a few years.

Rutton Sircar's Lane. Rutton Sircar was the favourite servant of Nundarama Sen, the "Black Zamindar"

Shama Charan Dey's Lane. Shama Charan De was the Vice-Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation.

Shib Kristo Daw's Lane. Shib Kristo Daw was an iron-dealer and hardware merchant with an extensive business.

Sir Maharaja Narendra Krishna's Street. Maharaja Sir Narendra Krishna Bahadoor, K.C.I.V., is the son of Raja Rajkrishna, and grandson of Maharaja Nubkissen Bahadur. He was for many years President of the British Indian Association and for some time member of the Imperial Legislative Council. He is at present the head of the Sobha Bazar Raj Family.

Sir Raja Radha Kanta's Lane. Raja Sir Radha Kanta Deb was the only son of Raja Gopee Mohan Deb. He was the Mæcenas of Bengal and a generous patron of learning and culture. It was at his expense and initiative that the ponderous volumes of the *Sabda-Kalpa-Druma*, the great encyclopædia of Sanskrit literature, were first published. He was a rigid Hindu of the orthodox type, and lent the whole weight of his powerful influence against the

(a) See Appendix Chapter VII.

reform movement started by that epoch-making personage, Raja Ram Mohan Roy. He vehemently opposed the agitation for the abolition of *sutteeism* and launched into existence a Hindu *sabha* to act as a foil against the Brahmo Samaj. His last days, which extended beyond the allotted span of human life, were spent in Brindaban, and he laid down the burden of life full of years and honours.

Sitaram Ghose's Street. Sitaram Ghosh was a wealthy Talukdar of Behala. His son was Dewan Abhay Charan Ghosh, and his grandson, Hurro Chunder Ghosh, was a Judge of the Presidency Court of Small Causes.

Sobharam Bysack's Lane. Sobharam Bysack was one of the wealthiest among the Bysacks of the eighteenth century. Holwell had changed the designation of Sambazar into Charles Bazar, and Sobharam re-named it Shambazar, Sham Bysack being a relative of his. We have already seen Sobharam as a Commissioner for the distribution of the restitution money.

Sambhu Nath Pandit's Street. Sambhu Nath Pandit, son of Shib Narain Pandit, was a Cashmere Brahmin, domiciled in Bengal. He was a vakeel of the Old Supreme Court with a large practice. He was successively appointed junior pleader and senior pleader to the Government of Bengal. On the establishment of the High Court, Rama Prasad Roy was elevated from the Bar to the Bench, but death supervened before he could take the wig, and Sambhu Nath was summoned to the exalted dignity of being the first Indian Judge of the High Court. He adorned the Bench for five years.

Shankar Ghose's Lane. Rana Shankar Ghosh (popularly known as Shankar Ghose) was son of Manohar Ghosh and grandson of Daibaki Ghosh. He was a captain's banian and amassed quite a fortune in his lucrative business. The temple of the goddess Kali, situated in Chorebagan, which is the source of no inconsiderable income, belonged to him.

Sreenath Dass' Lane. Srinath Das is at present the oldest amongst the most successful vakeels of the High Court.

Ukoor Dutt's Lane. Ukoor (akrur) Dutt was the founder of the Dutt family of Wellington Square.

Vidyasagara Street. Named after the late well-known Pandit Iswara-Chandra Vidyasagara, C.L.E. He was for a time Principal of the Government Sanskrit College, but resigned the post on account of disagreement with the Director of Public Instruction. He started the agitation for the re-marriage of Hindu widows and the legislature came to his aid by rendering valid all such marriages. He led the agitation but with little success for the annihilation of Kulinism.

Kumar Girindra Narayan's Lane. Kumar Girindra Narain is a member of the Statutory Civil Service. He is a son of Raja Ragendra Narain Deb of Sobhabazar.

Raja Woodmanta's Street. Raja Woodmanta was son of Raja Shitab Roy, who was Naib Subah of Behar. A landing ghât is named after him.

Balaram Majumdar's Street. Balaram Majumdar was a scion of the Majumdar family of Kumartuli. One of his descendants, Ram Sunder built a ghât in his name on the river. The founder of the family was Ramchandra Ghosh, who came down to settle in Calcutta from Akua and received the title of Majumdar from the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad.

Hidaram Banerjee's Lane. Hidaram Banerjee was the grand-father of Rajkrishna Banerjee, till lately Professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency College.

Kashee Mitter's Ghât Street. Kashee Nath Mitter was the nephew (sister's son) of Raja Rajbhallav.

There is only one street which bears the designation of a Jew—*Jera Street*. It is called after the well-known Jewish merchant, E. D. J. Ezra, who earned great wealth as a merchant.

Baretto Street is designated after a Portuguese merchant-prince, Joseph Baretto, who came from Bombay and settled in Calcutta. Like the well known Mr. John Palmer, he was a man of generous instincts and liberal disposition, and the Portuguese in Calcutta owe their main Church and Burial-ground to his munificence.

It would, at first sight, seem almost a pity that some of the streets of Calcutta in the Hindu quarters should still be named after very insignificant

persons. It should, however, be remembered that they indicate the prominent householders that resided in the localities in olden times, when Calcutta was but sparsely peopled, and the respectable classes kept away from it, on account of its deadly malaria and unsavoury surroundings, and that these, to present notions, humble and insignificant persons were then above their fellow residents from a worldly point of view. The following lanes are instances in point:—

Chidam Mudoe's Lane (named after a grocer).
 Panchee Dhobany Gully (named after a laundress).
 Shama Bai Gully (named after a dancing girl).
 Okhil Mistri's Lane (named after a mechanic).
 Ramhurry Mistri's Lane (named after a carpenter).
 Ramkanto Mistri's Lane (ditto).

Since 1877, however, the Municipal Commissioners have renamed after respectable persons a great many of the streets and lanes that were formerly named after lowly individuals. *Fox's Lane* was in 1877 dubbed *Pratap Chatterjee's Street* and *Putnatola bye-lane* *Chintamani Das's Lane*. In 1879, *Jorajuloo Street* was called *Marquis Street*, *Nanku Jemadar's Lane* was named *Bentinck 1st Lane* and *Sooreepara Lane* was designated *Ghose's Lane*. In 1881, *Jainbazar 2nd Lane* was called *Hogg Street*, *Jainbazar 3rd Lane* was named *Dutt's Lane* and *Jainbazar 4th and 5th Lanes* were denominated *Market Street*. In the following year, *Hareepara Lane* was called *Doctor's Lane* and *Preo Khansama's Lane* was transformed into *Turnbull's Lane*. The succeeding year saw *Ramjan Ostagar's Lane* converted into *Madan Mohan Dutt's Lane*. *Mondoe Bagan Lane*, *Nemoo Khansama's Lane* and *Rutton Mistry's Lane* were respectively changed in 1885-86 into *Park Lane*, *Eden Hospital Lane* and *Shama Charan Day's Lane*. In 1889-90, *Khyroo Mehtar's Lane* was changed into *Khyroo's Lane*, *Gunjawala Gully* into *Mohun Lal Mitter's Lane*, and *Chunam Gully* into *Phear's Lane*, while *Anis Barber's Lane* and *Misser Khansama's Lane* were ennobled by being called *Ripon Lane* and *Marquis Lane* respectively. In the year that followed, *Scavenger's Lane* was dignified into *St. James's Lane*. In 1891-92, *Dhangarpara Lane* was supplanted by *Ice-Factory Lane*. In 1893-94 *Haripara Busti Lane* was called *Sayad Abdur Salim's Lane*, *Colinga 1st lane* and *Dhobapara Street* were changed in 1895-96 into *Marsden Street* and *Cowie's Lane* respectively. In 1896-97 another *Dhobapara Lane* was called *Pundit's Lane*, *Zigaag Lane* was changed into *Metcalf's Lane* and *Hookawalla Gully* was in the following year converted into *Hook's Lane*. And, during the whole of this period, not a single one of the large number of new streets opened was named after any insignificant persons.

Of the several ghâts or landing-places on the bank of the river, *Prinsep's Ghât* takes the lead in point of architectural beauty. It was erected to perpetuate the memory of James Prinsep.

Rajchunder Das's Ghât named after the husband of "Rani Rashmoni" of *Jaun Bazar Street*, and commonly called *Babu Ghât* comes next. *Chandpal Ghât* was in existence in 1774 on the southern boundary of ancient Dibi Calcutta. It is named from one Chandra Nath Pal, who in those olden times, when the maidan was a dense forest, interspersed with a few weavers' sheds, and the river was scarcely frequented, kept hereabouts a *mudî's* shop for way-worn pedestrians and *manjees* (or boatmen) plying up and down the river. When the new fort was erected and the intermediate space to it was converted into the Respondentia Walk, the Chandpal Ghât became the landing-place where "the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Bishops and all who were entitled to the honours of a salute from the ramparts of Fort William, first set foot in the metropolis." At this spot India welcomed and bade farewell to her rulers.

Above the Chandpal Ghât was *Kutchā Godōe Ghât*, so called from the fact that country boats used to be hauled up on the banks of the narrow Govindapur creek near it; it thus served the purpose of a kutchā godown or dockyard for them. The Ghât is at present called *Colvin's Ghât* from the celebrated firm of Colvin, Cowie and Co.

Further up is the *Koila Ghât* that marked the southern extremity of the old fort. *Bankshall Ghât* was the site on which stood the first dry dock in Calcutta, built by Government in 1790, but removed in 1808. Above this stand the *Oliver Street Ghât* and the *Mint Ghât*. *Husoori Mull's Ghât* was, or

adjoined, the present *Armenian Ghât*, immediately below *Raja Woodman's Street*. The next Ghât below Raja's chowk was known as *Kasinath Babu's Ghât*. The Ghât was named after Dewan Kasinath, who was at first an opulent merchant, but afterwards became the Dewan of the zamindaries of the Cussijorah Raja in Midnapore, to whom, the Setts tell us, he was introduced by Vaishnab Das Sett. The other principal Ghâts of that period were *Kadamtalla Ghât*, *Patharia*, or stone-laid Ghât, *Nimtala Ghât*, *Hautkhola Ghât*, and *Bonomali Sircar's Ghât*.

Most of the old tanks of the town of Calcutta have been filled up. A few only of the ancient tanks survived till lately. One of them, *Shampooer* which has given its name to Ward No. 1 of the town, is claimed by the Bysacks as being named after one of their ancestors, Sham Bysack. It is more likely, however, to have been named originally along with Sham Bazar, after Sham Roy, the idol attendant of the goddess Kali in the legendary period of the history of the town. The Lal Dighi, (Dalhousie Square) Jhinjhari tank, Blacquiere's tank, the Hinjhara tank, the Goledighi (College Square), Hedua tank (Cornwallis Square) the Mirzapore tank, the Serpentine tank, the Triangular tank (Park Street), the Chowringheetank (in course of being filled up), and some others, however, still survive. Although the number of public tanks do not exceed 27, the total number of tanks inclusive of private tanks in the town area still number 276; and if all the ponds and ditches in the added area be taken into account, the work of their reclamation or conversion into habitable land or public squares, would still demand a large outlay of capital, whether executed by the Corporation or by private individuals.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PORT AND ITS TRADE.

FROM remote antiquity the eastern and western mouths of the Ganges have formed important channels of trade. The Portuguese and Armenian merchants who went from one trade-mart to another, buying and selling, give us the first glimpse of Indian trade with the ports of Europe. Cesare dei Federici generally called Caesar Frederic, a Venetian merchant, who visited Satgaon about 1565 A.D., tells us about the Portuguese traders going about from market to market for dealing in the country's produce, and of vessels that were embarked to Europe, every year, laden with rice, cotton cloths of various kinds, great quantities of sugar, myrobalams, long pepper, butter, oil, and many other wares.^(a) He further states that from an harbour in Orissa now called the Harishpur garh, vessels numbering from 25 to 30 each year, set sail to Europe laden "with large quantities of rice, different cotton cloths, oil of zezelin, butter, lac, long pepper, ginger, myrobalams and cloths of 'erba' or tussur silk and diverse other produce of the country."^(b) The trade was, however, not limited to local products, for silks, raw and woven, from China, found their way round by sea to the Malabar Coast and the points where the great rivers meet the sea. The lower part of Bengal, from the eastern mouth of the Ganges to the western, was a place of much activity, whether in the way of legitimate trade or of piracy. The Portuguese found their way, in the sixteenth century, to Chittagong on the east and Satgaon on the west; the former they named Porto Grande, or great harbour, and the latter (the precursor of Calcutta) Porto Pigueno, or little harbour.^(c) The monopoly of the whole European trade remained with them. We have elsewhere shown how, upon the silting up of the river Saraswati, Satgaon was abandoned and Hooghly flourished in its stead; and how Betor, from whence the Portuguese embarked their cargo inland by country boats, and Garden Reach, below Calcutta, where the Dutch used to moor their sailing vessels, sank into insignificance, when Calcutta under the English Settlement rose to prominence as a port.

The trade of the English in Bengal first began from Balasore, where they had a factory, as no English vessel would venture to sail up the Hooghly. Down to the middle of the 17th century only Dutch and Portuguese galiasses could sail up the Hooghly, but not higher than Garden Reach and Betor. In 1650 on the arrival of a ship, the *Lyoness* from Europe, the English at Madras discussed much the project, of sailing up the Hooghly, but they understood the passage to be full of danger. The Court of Directors wished that ships should sail up the Hooghly, and that their "businesses in the Bay should be brought into some decorum."^(d) In 1662 they agreed to pay ten shillings per ton extra to the chartered ships for all goods that they should take in "within the said Barr of Ganges, and to be at the charge of boats and Pylotts to attend up and down the river and in and out of the Barr."^(e) Seeing that Dutch ships of 600 tons burthen performed the feat of sailing up and down the river, a Captain Elliot ventured to essay the task, but did not succeed, owing to a want of pilots. In 1668, therefore, the Court renewed the offer of the bonus and directed that 'divers able persons' should be instructed as pilots, and that all persons in the vessels up and down the river, from the youngest to the oldest, should be put upon "taking depths, sholdings, setting of tydes, currents, distances, Buoyes, and making drafftes of the river."^(f)

The Hon'ble Court further encouraged 'the young men to be bredd up' for the Pilot service, first by fixing their rate of salary at six pounds for the first 3 years, at seven pounds for the next two, and eight pounds for the last two. These apprentices we are told, were fed at the Company's expense.^(g)

(a) Sir C. C. Stevens' paper on the Port of Calcutta, in the London Art Society's Journal, page 4.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, page 47.

(e) *Ibid.*

(f) *Ibid.*, page 48.

(g) *Ibid.*

These offers gave an increased impulse to attempts at the navigation of the Hooghly and in 1678, the *Falcon*, the first English vessel that ventured to sail up the river, penetrated inland to Hooghly, conveying a cargo of bullion and goods valued at over £ 40,000.^(a) In the same year the Court directed the enlistment in the Pilot service of any one that might be willing "among the soberest of the young mates for midshipmen."^(b)

By the provisions of the new charter that was granted to the Company in 1661, they were to hold the monopoly of the whole trade in Bengal, and no other agency was permitted to carry on trade without their permission. Seven years later, *i.e.*, in 1668, the stock in trade of the Company was valued at £ 34,000; it rose to £ 65,000 in 1675 and the factors were further authorised 'to take up £ 20,000.'^(c) In 1668 they obtained permission to erect and establish a factory at Dacca, then the capital of Bengal.

In 1672 the Company obtained, as we have seen before, fresh Letters Patent by which their import and export trades became customs free. In 1682 the stock value of their Bengal trade rose to £ 2,30,000.^(d) With the establishment of the regular Pilot service in 1668 and its gradually increasing efficiency, the difficulty in the navigation of the river Hooghly steadily decreased so that in 1686, 'three ships carrying from 50 to 70 guns each ventured up to attack Hooghly. Fresh regulations were passed in 1676, for the promotion of all Company's servants and the apprentices under employment were to receive £ 10 per annum for the last two years of their term, "and having served those two years to be entertained one year longer as writers, and have writers' salary, and having served that year to enter into the degree of factors, and the factors having served their times be styled merchants, and the merchants having served their times to be styled senior merchants."^(e)

The British trade prior to the foundation of Fort William, both imports and exports, would appear to have been limited to the articles mentioned in Appendix I of this chapter.

The lascars whose success as ships' crew, in all parts of the globe, has lately provoked some jealousy in certain quarters, appear to have sought and obtained service in British vessels from the dawn of British trade in Bengal. In 1704, when the loss of the *Royal James* and *Mary* on the fatal shoal in the river Hooghly, which still bears its name, was reported, as many lascars as could be spared from the different ships, were sent off from Calcutta to the assistance of her crew under the command of Captain Hampton.

In the early period of British occupation, the port dues were insignificant. Even up to 1704, they do not appear to have reached five hundred rupees. Tonnage pass-money to the amount of Rs. 384 only were realised from various vessels bound for Madras and Europe in the year 1704. The rate had been fixed at Re. 1 a ton. In the Pilot service, of the Company^(f) for that year, there were the following persons, engaged in the various capacities of pilots masters, seamen, and lascars, on the various salaries noted against their names.^(g)

			Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	
Stephen Shaw ⁽⁴⁾	45	0	0			
John Rainbow	45	0	0			
							90	0	0
Thomas Harris, reserved in pay to send him when the season permits in a sloop for Madras	30	0	0
<i>London Yacht.</i>									
Thomas Morris (master)	30	0	0			
Timothy Kiesum (Boatswain)	20	0	0			
Richard Dean	12	0	0			
1 Tindell	7	0	0			
7 Lascars	35	0	0			
							104	0	0

(a) Sir C. C. Stevens' paper on the Port of Calcutta, page 5.

(b) *Ibid.*, page 5.

(c) *Ibid.*, page 7.

(d) *Ibid.*, page 7.

(e) *Ibid.*, page 8.

(f) Wilson's *Early Annals*, Vol. I, page 146.

(g) *Ibid.*, 346; Consultation 416, United Trade Council's diary 1704.

(h) Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, page 345.

Mary Buoyer.

		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
John Mander (Master)	...	40	0	0			
Thomas Holbridge (Boatswain)	...	30	0	0			
Daniell Wilkinson	...	22	0	0			
1 Tindell	...	7	0	0			
10 Lascars	...	50	0	0			
					149	0	0

Sloop Kassimbazar.

Josia Townsend (master)	...	35	0	0			
Daniell Holsten (Boatswain)	...	20	0	0			
Titus Oakes	...	30	0	0			
1 Tindell	...	7	0	0			
9 Lascars	...	45	0	0			
					127	0	0

Rising Sun.

1 Tindell, and 2 lascars $\frac{1}{2}$ pay	...	6	0	0			
William Smack $\frac{1}{2}$ pay	...	6	0	0			
Charles and Betty $\frac{1}{2}$ pay	...	6	0	0			
Phillip Finch at Rs. 12 per month	...	12	0	0			
					50	0	0

Saltpetre formed one of the chief articles of export at this time and the Council at Fort William was ordered by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors to send to Europe vessels laden with cargoes of saltpetre. The Madras Council urged their agents to make haste and buy what saltpetre they could, either coarse or fine, as four French ships were on their way to buy the same commodity. The 'river tariff' prescribed for all Company's sloops carrying goods of merchants not belonging to the Company to and from places up and down the river was as follows:—

"To and from Balasore road every chest or bale, butt or cask, two rupees each; saltpetre, red cowries, lead, iron, and all weighty goods, Rs. 15 per one hundred maunds; cordage, ooyer, and the like Rs. 16 per one hundred maunds; the river tariff was to be charged, in order that the vessels might not be a charge to the Company."^(a)

The Company did not permit their pilots to attend ships other than their own. On March 1st 1707, having learnt that one "Antonio de Rota, a head pilot, had used their sloop to attend a ship that belonged to outside merchants,"^(b) they resolved to fine him for this, his first offence, and they gave him to understand that for a similar offence in the future he would be turned out of the "Company's service, towns and protection." In 1709 the pricing warehouse being very much out of repair, it was proposed in the Council that it should be made pukka. For that year the total receipt that was credited to the Company's cash from dues on tonnage, pass-money, and fines, etc., amounted to Rs. 1,665 only.

Early in the month of February, 1710, a wharf was constructed before the Fort, for it was thought that it would 'be a great security to the banks and a strengthening thereto;' it was made with bricks and a breast work was raised.^(c) During the greater part of the years 1711 and 1712 the Company's trade in Bengal was much retarded by the active hostilities of the French fleet, and in the same year Ambassadors from the Court of Persia came into Calcutta to discuss trade questions. The Account Pass Money and Tonnage from March to August 1712, amounted to Rs. 463-12.^(d) The tonnage and pass money amounted together to Rs. 1,580 only in the year 1714. The amount was made up of the following items^(e) :—

		Rs.	Rs.
For the ship Chinapatam	... Only paid tonnage	...	120
" " " Narran	... ditto	...	30
" " " Barrington	... Tonnage	...	150
	... Pass-money	...	10
			160
	Carried over	...	310

(a) Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, page 206.

(b) Sir C. C. Stevens' paper on the Port of Calcutta, page 8.

(c) Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, page 327.

(d) *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Part I, page 86.

(e) *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Part I, page 213.

			Rs.	Rs.
	Brought forward	...		310
For the ship Francis	...	{ Tonnage	70	
	...	{ Pass-money	10	
				80
" " " Anne	...	{ Tonnage	50	
	...	{ Pass-money	10	
				60
" " " Shaw Allum...	...	{ Tonnage	200	
	...	{ Pass-money	14	
				214
" " " Dolbeen	...	{ Tonnage	150	
	...	{ Pass-money	10	
				160
" " " Samuell and James	...	{ Tonnage	100	
	...	{ Pass-money	10	
				110
" " " Mary	...	{ Tonnage	70	
	...	{ Pass-money	10	
				80
" " " Fort St. David's Merchant	...	{ Tonnage	50	
	...	{ Pass-money	10	
				60
" " " Severn	...	{ Tonnage	150	
	...	{ Pass-money	10	
				160
" " " Catherine	...	{ Tonnage	60	
	...	{ Pass-money	10	
				70
" " " Briga George	...	{ Tonnage	25	
	...	{ Pass-money	10	
				35
" " " Francisco	...	{ Tonnage	25	
	...	{ Pass-money	10	
				35
" " " Stritham	...	{ Tonnage	20	
	...	{ Pass-money	10	
				30
" " " Fortune	...	{ Tonnage	15	
	...	{ Pass-money	10	
				25
" " " Ganges	...	{ Tonnage	15	
	...	{ Pass-money	10	
				25
" " " Calcutta	...	{ Tonnage	15	
	...	{ Pass-money	10	
				25
" " " Elizabeth	...	{ Tonnage	20	
	...	{ Pass-money	10	
				30
" " " Good Hope	...	{ Tonnage	20	
	...	{ Pass-money	10	
				30
" " " Mercury	...	{ Tonnage	25	
	...	{ Pass-money	10	
				35
" " " Pegu	...	{ Tonnage	5	
	...	{ Pass-money	10	
				15
Total Rs.				1,580

As we have seen before,¹⁶⁰ owing to the frequent seizure of goods and illegal exactions, the Company was at this time increasing the number of their mercenary soldiers to protect the convoy of goods. On September 26th 1717 it was ordered in the Council that a standing garrison of two hundred and twenty should be always kept ready for service, and that these men should be located at different parts of Bengal to protect their inland trade.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ See Chapter VI.

¹⁶¹ Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. II, Part I, page 281.

Forty-one sloops are said to have been engaged in trade with Bengal from the year 1709 to 1718. They were the following ^(a) :—

Name of sloops.		Years.
1.	The Frederick ...	9th March 1708.
2.	" Loyal Bliss ...	9th March 1709.
3.	" Halifax ...	9th March 1709.
4.	" St. George ...	10th January 1710.
5.	" Susanna ...	10th January 1710.
6.	King William Galley ...	10th January 1710.
7.	The Sherbourne ...	11th January 1710.
8.	" Rochester ...	11th January 1710.
9.	" Europe ...	13th January 1710.
10.	" Duchess ...	13th January 1710.
11.	" Bowverie ...	13th January 1710.
12.	" Success ...	22nd July 1710.
13.	" Derby ...	30th December 1710.
14.	" Howland ...	30th December 1710.
15.	" Hester ...	30th December 1710.
16.	" Dartmouth ...	30th December 1710.
17.	" London ...	19th January 1711.
18.	" Averilla ...	19th January 1711.
19.	" Aurangzebe ...	19th January 1711.
20.	" Jane, Frigate... ..	March 1711.
21.	" Thistleworth ...	April 1711.
22.	" Toddington ...	April 1711.
23.	" Kent ...	20th January 1712.
24.	" Recovery ...	20th January 1712.
25.	" Mary ...	20th January 1712.
26.	" Marlborough ...	20th January 1712.
27.	" King William ...	February 1713.
28.	" Hanover ...	February 1713.
29.	" Cardigan ...	February 1713.
30.	" Bouverie ...	8th January 1714.
31.	" The St. George ...	18th February 1714.
32.	" The Kent ...	5th November 1714.
33.	" Derby ...	February 1715.
34.	" Mary ...	February 1715.
35.	" Heathcote ...	February 1715.
36.	" Stanhope ...	April 1715.
37.	" Prince Frederick ...	22nd February 1716.
38.	" Grantham ...	22nd February 1716.
39.	" King George ...	20th March 1716.
40.	" Hanover ...	29th October 1716.
41.	" Cardigan ...	25th January 1717.

It will be observed that in the above list the names of the following sloops occur twice; the *St. George*, the *King William Galley*, the *Bowverie*, the *Derby*, the *Kent*, the *Mary*, the *Hanover* and the *Cardigan*; so that the actual number of vessels plying in the Bengal ports during this period was only thirty-three. The private Companies and free traders who started a trade in Bengal in rivalry with the Company, became an eyesore to the Company at Calcutta and were, as we know, called "Interlopers." The Company's captains and pilots of vessels up and down the Hugli, were severely rebuked and even fined at times by the Council for conducting, piloting or giving directions for the safe navigation of vessels, belonging to other traders. They laid strict injunctions upon all their servants that in no case, without the payment of duty and without their express permission, were their employes to harbour any vessel or give direction to any sloop proceeding up the river. In the year 1727 the shipping belonging to the Port of Calcutta amounted to 10,000 tons. ^(b)

The war in Europe, in the time of Queen Anne, created a great demand for saltpetre and it was, therefore, jealously guarded by the Company's troops on its way down the river from Patna. The demand for saltpetre abated by the year 1720.

A few years prior to the battle of Plassey, the Company became so suspicious of Europeans that the captains of vessels were not allowed to receive any passenger on board without a license from the Company, and a Miss Campbell,

^(a) Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. II, Part I, page 344

^(b) Sir C. C. Stevens' paper on the Port of Calcutta, page 9.

a passenger bound for Madeira was actually sent back to England, lest she should come over to India. But eventually she was in Bengal in 1754.^(a) Again, in 1752-53 a free merchant applied to the Council for a pass on the ground that, without it, he would be reduced to the condition of a foreigner, 'lower than the meanest black fellow.'

The Company carried on their trade on *dadney* contracts made with influential Indian Merchants. In 1752 the Setts of Calcutta declined to work with other merchants of different castes, and the Council, considering their great political influence, accepted their terms on the ground "that they are people who had lived long in the place and were entirely under the protection of the English."^(b) The wealthiest and most influential of the native merchants was Omichund, who acted as the Company's contractor and provided more of the Company's investment than any other contractor; but his honesty was suspected, and the Council in 1753 proposed to abandon the system of dealing with native merchants.^(c) The Company ceased to deal with native contractors and resolved to deal directly with their weavers and artisans through their own *gomastas*, who were also employed to carry on the inland trade. They were for this purpose entrusted with the English flag and the Company's *dustuck*, and they bought and sold duty-free.^(d) Very soon the vast monopoly of the trade of Bengal passed into the hands of the servants of the Company and their *gomastas*. These *gomastas* became almost a scourge to the people. Numberless complaints reached the Council every day of their extortion from cultivators, petty traders and the labouring classes, and the Nawab expressed strong disapproval of this procedure, and desired the Council to stop it. Its continuance in spite of the Nawabs' protest was not a mean factor in determining his hostile attitude to the Company's servants. In every district, village, and factory, they bought and sold salt, betel-nut, ghee, rice, straw, bamboo, fish, ginger, sugar, tobacco, opium, and other "native commodities."^(e)

About 1754-55 the *gomastas* became so troublesome that the Burdwan Raja "put *chowkees* upon all the Company's factories" and thereby stopped their business.^(f) The Council informed the Nawab about this, and he ordered the Burdwan Raja to withdraw the *chowkees* and allow the English to trade duty-free as before. But the power of the *gomastas* appears to have continued and their exactions remained unabated even after the battle of Plassey. For various complaints against the English *gomastas* were made before Governor Vansittart during the years 1760 to 1764, and although he proposed in Council in 1760 to redress the grievances of the people by lessening their power and authority, he failed to carry his motion.^(g) By March 30th, 1760, the Nawab had written two letters to the Governor informing him about his resolution to abolish duties on articles of Inland trade. He said that the English *gomastas* were all-powerful, that they oppressed the people for unlawful exactions, and "covered the goods of other merchants in transporting them through the country, by which means his customs had been greatly prejudiced," and that for these reasons he had entirely given up the collection of duties and had removed all '*chowkees* wheresoever established.'^(h) The correspondence which followed eventually led to the Nawab's downfall.

In 1758, a very valuable paper on the state of trade in the Persian Gulf was presented, signed by 18 free merchants, in which the Bombay and Calcutta shipping was compared, and the causes of the decay of trade at Surat and along the Persian Gulf were discussed.⁽ⁱ⁾ They attributed the falling off to the fact that most of the Company's vessels laden with articles of export or import, were transhipped either at Bombay or at Calcutta and there were, therefore, few vessels available for trade in the Persian Gulf. Surat had been a great emporium of trade in the early days; the English had established a factory

(a) Long's *Selections from the unpublished records of Government*.

(b) Long's *Selections from the unpublished records of Government*; Consultations May 23, 1752; footnote to page 9.

(c) Wheeler's *Early Records of British India*; pages 224-226.

(d) *Ibid.*, page 300-301.

(e) *Ibid.*, page 301.

(f) Long's *Selections from the unpublished records of Government*; Consultations May 5, 1755; article 151.

(g) *Ibid.*; Proceedings September 4, 1760.

(h) *Ibid.*; Proceedings, March 30, 1760.

(i) *Ibid.*; Consultations 1758.

there in 1624. Its trade had improved steadily till the beginning of the 18th century. But with the development of Calcutta in the east and Bombay on the west, the trade of Surat gradually dwindled down, and Calcutta and Bombay became the chief commercial ports of the Company by the middle of the eighteenth century.

In 1759, thirty vessels sailed from Calcutta, aggregating 8,064 tons burthen.^(a)

About this time a large number of European traders wished to settle in the interior of the country and asked for the permission of the Council. In reply, Governor Vansittart, in 1763 published a minute, refusing permission, and pointing out the evils that were likely to arise from Europeans settling down for trade in the interior of the country.^(b) The tardy development of the internal trade of Bengal is by many attributed to this cause.

Prizes of 200 and 100 guineas were offered by the Court in 1756 for quick passages round the Cape, with strict injunctions upon the commanders of ships not to loiter or mis-spend their time.^(c)

The Portuguese were the great propagators of slavery during the eighteenth century and their vessels, full of slaves, used to lie at anchor off Budge-Budge, Akra, and the neighbouring places, till so late a period as 1780. We are told that in February, 1717, the Mugs carried off from the most southern parts of Bengal about 1,800 men, women, and children, and on arriving at Arracan sold them all as slaves, keeping a few for a present to the King of Arracan. The unhappy wretches were sold at from Rs. 20 to Rs. 70, according to their strength. From 1717 down to the close of the eighteenth century, the Mugs and the Portuguese were engaged in a common cause—to carry away the inhabitants and to sell them as slaves; and “so great was the dread of the Mugs that about 1770 a chain was run across the river at the Tanna Fort (where the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens now resides) to protect the port of Calcutta against pirates. Most of the well-to-do residents of Calcutta, European, Eurasian, and Armenian, inclusive of the Company’s servants, kept slaves during this period and advertisements for their sale or capture were frequent in the public press of the time.”^(d)

The sea-borne trade of the port of Calcutta increased greatly after the battle of Plassey, and paucity of the pilots began to be felt in consequence; so Mr. Alexander Scott, Master Attendant, brought up an application before Mr. Vansittart, on the 30th of November, 1760, requesting the Governor to recommend to the Court of Directors the appointment of more pilots in the Company’s Marine service.^(e)

It should be remembered that Calcutta had not then had any European Merchants like Jagat Set, the Rothschild of Moorshedabad, nor like the Mull family of Benares; but few of them had been capitalists except on money borrowed from natives.^(f)

Ship-building began to be brisk after 1770, teak wood being chiefly used; Captain Weston built a ship at his dockyard at Kidderpore and Warren Hastings and his lady were present at the launch and subsequent entertainment.^(g)

From 1781 till 1821 more than 237 ships were built at the Kidderpore Docks at a cost of more than two millions sterling. Originally a large dock was built by the riverside at Tittagur, a few miles to the north of Calcutta, where it is said, a large ship of 5,000 tons burthen was launched, and its launching, was enviously looked upon by ship-builders at Liverpool. In 1818, the *Hastings*, a seventy-four gun-ship, was launched from the Kidderpore Docks.^(h)

In 1760 the public of Calcutta sent to the Council a petition, setting forth in the most pitiable terms the miserable condition of life in the town, on account of the fact that duties on articles for daily consumption were levied at an

(a) Sir O. C. Stevens’ paper on the Port of Calcutta, page 10.

(b) Long’s *Selections from the unpublished records of Government*; Proceedings February 1, 1763; article 630.

(c) *Ibid*; proceedings 1756.

(d) *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXV page 217; Calcutta in the olden times—its people.

(e) Long’s *Selections from the unpublished records of Government*; Proceedings, November, 1760.

(f) *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXV, page 190; Calcutta in the olden times—its people.

(g) *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXV, page 191; Calcutta in the olden times—its people.

(h) Sir. W. Hunter’s *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. I, pages 77 to 79.

exorbitant rate. "The land custom duties were in consequence taken off, and the *chowkees* which were employed in levying them were removed, the Collector's title being also taken off."^(a) The revenue obtained from salt by the Musalman Government consisted of an *ad valorem* duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. from Mahomedans, and 5 per cent. from Hindus, levied on what was transported into the interior of the country.^(b)

From the statement made by Lord Clive in 1776 it would appear that from time immemorial the salt trade in Bengal had been a monopoly. The Directors in their letter of the 24th December 1776 say 'that it has ever been in a great measure an exclusive trade'.^(c) And the Company, therefore, established a monopoly in their salt trade.

On the 20th June 1788, in pursuance of orders from the Court of Directors, the Government Customs were abolished except at Monghyr, at the confluence of the rivers Ganges and Gogra, where a Custom House had been established for the purpose of levying customs dues on all Exports and Imports passing the frontier by that route.^(d) No change was made in the collection of the Calcutta town duties. Previous to the 20th June 1788 the Imports levied by Government on the trade of the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, were of two descriptions, the Calcutta Customs and the Government Customs.^(e) In May 1795 the Government Customs on Imports by sea were re-established, and the Calcutta town duties were abolished.^(f) In May 1801, the Calcutta town duties were re-established with certain exceptions, and in June of the same year, the Government Customs formerly levied at Calcutta on goods exported from Calcutta into the interior of the country, and on goods imported into Calcutta from the interior of the country, were revived as also those formerly levied at Hooghly, Moorshedabad, Dacca, Chittagong and Patna.^(g)

On the 9th June 1801 an advertisement appeared in the body of the newspapers of the day for tolls to be paid for goods and cargo that were to be imported by Tolly's Canal. The same rate held good for articles of export. The rates were:—

"One per cent. on all goods and merchandize. One rupee per million treasure. One Budgerow, four annas per oar. On empty boat, four annas per 100 maunds burthen. On earthenware, firewood, straw, and other bulky articles, two rupees per 100 maunds on the burthen of each boat. The toll on such articles or necessaries as are included in the Calcutta monthly current estimation, made by the clerk of the market, is also rated at one per cent. on the price of each article."^(h)

From a notification given in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1784 the number of vessels sent by the various European nations for trade to the East Indies can be computed. At the beginning of the 18th century England sent 14, France 5, Holland 11, the Venetians and Genoese together 9, Spain and all the rest of Europe only 6. In the year 1744 the English increased the number of their ships to 27, the Venetians and Genoese sent only 4 and the rest of Europe about 9. In 1784, 300 sail of European ships belonging to the several powers, were employed for trade in the East Indies, of which England alone sent 68, the French sent only 9 ships and the Portuguese 18, the Russians and Spaniards brought up the remainder.

About the Mercantile houses for the latter half of the 18th century and for the first few years of the nineteenth century, we have the following remarks by a Tirthoot planter in 1820:—

"The Calcutta Agents form a very prominent part of the community, and from their extensive mercantile connexions, occupy a large space in the public eye.

"During the war, Calcutta Agency houses consisted of old establishments, which engrossed a great part of all commercial transactions, and might be termed a mercantile aristocracy. Possessed of large *factories* and numerous constituents through India, the trader was entirely dependant upon them and an agent dictated his terms, from which there was no appeal."⁽ⁱ⁾

(a) *Long's Selections from the unpublished records of Government*: footnote to page 260; proceedings September 4, 1760.

(b) *Miller's Memoirs on the Revenue of Calcutta*, paragraph 84.

(c) *Ibid*: footnote to paragraph 84 and also paragraph 78.

(d) *Ibid*: paragraph 69.

(e) *Ibid*: paragraph 68; Regulation XXXIX, 1795.

(f) *Ibid*: paragraph 68.

(g) *Ibid*: paragraph 68; Regulation X, 1801 also Regulation XI, 1801.

(h) *Saton Carr's Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*—Vol. II, page 624.

(i) *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXV, page 182-83; Calcutta in the olden times—its people.

But subsequently, inferior agency houses sprang up, new establishments were formed, and an agent could not dictate terms to persons possessed of some property, as they might have recourse to these inferior houses; so the aristocracy was fast losing its domineering ascendancy. They acted as agents to civil servants, officers in the army, etc., from whom, after securing money, they would lend to merchants and traders upon terms very favourable to themselves.

"During the war, when commercial men sometimes made their fortune by a happy incident, they charged forty, fifty and even ninety per cent. for money advanced, this exorbitant percentage, they make out in the shape of interest for money, commissions charges, godown rents, &c." ^(a)

From the same source we get an excellent description of a *Banian's* duties in those days:—

"*Banian* is a person either acting for himself or as the substitute of some great, black merchant by whom the English gentlemen in general transact all their business. He is interpreter, head book-keeper, head Secretary, head broker, the supplier of cash and cash keeper, and in general also secret keeper." ^(b)

For some years the Court of Directors had suffered considerable inconvenience like other merchants, for the want of a proper bank in Calcutta having dealings with banks in the United Kingdom. In 1806 this want was removed, and in 1808 under Act 47, George III, Section 2, Chapter 68, they were empowered to establish a bank at Calcutta. The Court in their proclamation of the 24th September 1808, directed that a Bank "invested with all the privileges and immunities usually granted to corporations legally directed in England, should be opened to the public by the 1st of January 1809." ^(c) The Bank of Bengal was thus established. Its original constitution, terms and powers are given at length in Appendix III.

By Regulation IX, 1810, all Regulations then in force for the collection of the Government Customs throughout the Territories of the Bengal Presidency, were rescinded and those customs were re-established with amended rules for the collection of them which, with various alterations, made from time to time, continued until the passing of Act XIV of 1836. ^(d)

The following were the principal daily articles of import and export to and from Calcutta ^(e) :—

<i>Exports.</i>	<i>Imports.</i>
Rice.	Rice.
Goor, sugarcane and dates.	Mustard-seed, gram.
Sugar.	Peas, moong.
Paun-leaf.	Salt.
Tobacco.	Indigo seed.
Indigo.	Linseed.
Cloth.	Iron and steel.
Silk.	Goor, sugarcane.
Mata.	Brass and copper, utensils.
Curda.	Ghee.
Vegetables.	Spices.
Fish.	Cloth.
Pottery.	Thread.
Bamboos.	Cocoanut Oil.
Straw.	Brass ornaments.
	Umbrellas.
	Podlars' wares.

Formerly cowries were used as coin for petty bazar transactions, but their use is obsolete now-a-days.

In the eleven months from June 1811 to April 1812, the import and export trade of the port was estimated at about nine millions and a half sterling, being carried in 600 vessels aggregating 150,000 tons.

The trade of the English being entirely duty-free from the time of the acquisition of the Dewani in 1765, their goods found customers throughout the length and breadth of the land. India made articles of commerce largely gave place to European commodities, and English-made articles were welcomed by the people of the soil who could have them at a cheaper price.

^(a) *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXV, page 182-84; Calcutta in the olden times—its people.

^(b) *Ibid.*, page 182-85.

^(c) San'teman's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. IV, page 55.

^(d) Millin's *Minute on Revenue of Calcutta*; paragraph 70.

^(e) Major Ralph Smyth's *Geographical and Statistical Report of the 24 Parganas* page 42.

All over the country their trade marts multiplied in number and the merchants realised great profits from their investments. The Charter of 1814 gave the Company free scope in dealing with trade questions, and "the rage for speculation and inordinate gains on the part of the directors, and the too eager or confident cupidity of their customers, over-trading, improvident enterprise, extravagant miscalculation and excessive expense in living" brought about the break-down of a great many mercantile houses, first in Calcutta and then in Bombay. The ruin and dismay produced on the failure of the houses was immense. Fortunately, however, some of the old partners of the agency houses, seeing the storm coming, had retired with part of their fortunes, "and penniless adventurers took their place." The following important houses failed with the liabilities noted against them:—

CALCUTTA.

1830 January, Palmer and Co., reported	...	...	£50,00,000
1832 December, Alexander and Co., admitted	...	...	£34,40,000
1833 January, Mackintosh and Co., "	...	...	£27,00,000
1833 May, Colvin and Co., "	...	...	£11,20,000
1833 November, Fergusson and Co., "	...	...	£35,62,000
1834 January, Cruttenden and Co., "	...	...	£13,50,000
at Calcutta			1,71,72,000

BOMBAY.

1833 April, Shetian and Co., admitted	...	...	£2,07,000
at Bombay			£2,07,000

This catastrophe produced a very considerable depression in the trade of the port, and it was several years before it recovered its normal position.^(a)

All these years, the affairs of the Port were managed by the Government Marine Department. In 1870 the Port Trust was constituted under special enactment and the whole management of the affairs of the Port was given into their hands. The Port Trust originally consisted of a body of twelve Commissioners, (including a Chairman) and a Vice-Chairman, who were appointed by the Provincial Government. Subsequently, upon Act V of 1870 being amended by Act III of 1887, the number of Commissioners was increased to thirteen of whom eight were appointed by the Local Government and five were elected, four by the Chamber of Commerce and one by the Trades Association. Again, upon the passing of Act III of 1890, the number was increased to 15, five of whom are elected by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, one by the Trades Association, one by the the Commissioners of the Town of Calcutta and one by such body or bodies or firms as the Local Government may select and 7 including the Chairman and Vice-Chairman) are appointed by Government. The Commissioners are vested with the powers and duties noted in the Calcutta Port Act, III (B.C.) of 1890. The Commissioners are expected to keep a watchful oversight of the needs of the Port to mature plans of improvement in advance and supply every convenience and facility that the Commerce of the Port may from time to time require. They are consequently empowered by the various sections of the Act to do everything that is necessary to this end. Under section 7 of the Indian Ports Act, IX of 1889, the Commissioners were appointed to be the Conservators of the Port and were entrusted, as such, with the management of the navigable part of the river and its channels leading to all parts that are within the jurisdiction of the Port proper which practically extends to the sea. Their duties, therefore, fall within these two principal heads: (1) those providing for the surveying, sounding, buoying, lighting and dredging of the Hooghly from its mouth to the Port, and general improvement of its channels, providing all the information on these subjects which is required by the Pilot Service, and providing for the security of vessels while in the Port itself; and (2) those which are undertaken to provide facilities for trade and its advancement.

The thirteen elected or appointed Commissioners hold their posts for a term of 2 years, after the expiration of which period they are either re-elected or re-appointed, or fresh members are taken in, in their stead. The

(a) We are greatly indebted to the Vice-Chairman and the Secretary to the Port Commissioners for revising and correcting the proofs of the succeeding paragraphs to the end of the third paragraph on page 128.

management of the entire Port Trust rests in the hands of the Vice-Chairman who is held responsible before the Commissioners on the Board for the efficiency of the Trust's works, the Vice-Chairman being the Chief Executive Officer. Under the Chief Executive Officer there are Heads of Departments who respectively hold the posts of Chief Engineer, Traffic Manager and Deputy Conservator. The Chief Engineer is responsible for the construction and maintenance of all the works of the Trust, the Traffic Manager has the management &c., of (1) the Jetties, (2) the Docks, (3) the Inland vessels wharves, and (4) the Port Trust Railway. Two important departments; namely, (1) the Port Approaches, and (2) the Harbour Master's Department, are under the control of the Deputy Conservator.

When in 1870 the whole management of the Trust devolved upon the Port Commissioners they took over from Government six screw pile jetties, four in working order and two under construction—, six cranes, and four sheds for the accommodation of the sea-going trade. Certain improvements had also been made by Government in the river bank at Juggernath Ghât, and these, when made over to the Port Trust, in 1870, were valued at Rs. 87,349, which, with the value of the jetties, cranes and sheds, and a cash balance of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, constituted the first debt of the Trust of Rs. 10,00,000. The Port block valued at Rs. 17,65,000 was also made over to the Commissioners, which constitutes a permanent debt, not repayable, but is charged with interest at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum. Government advanced funds from time to time, which, with the original debt of 10 lakhs, rose to over Rs. 60,00,000, and these advances were ultimately consolidated into one loan which is now styled "the consolidated loan," bearing interest at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and redeemable by fixed semi-annual instalments of Rs. 1,63,068. Having consolidated these advances Government empowered the Port Commissioners to raise loans by debentures from time to time (as money was wanted to meet expenses of improvements, &c.,) in the open market, on the security of the Commissioners' property or of their receipts from tolls, dues, etc., such loans being a first charge on the Commissioners' property and receipts.

The Strand Bank lands were subsequently transferred to the Port Commissioners by Government subject to the payment of an annual quit rent of Rs. 37,292.

The Commissioners at once took in hand the improvement of the river bank, laying the foundation of the present Inland Vessels Wharves, which now comprise property transferred by Government and acquired under the Land Acquisition Act, both on the Calcutta and the Howrah side of the river. The number of the jetties was raised to eight, with eight sheds and 27 hydraulic cranes, and though these eight jetties have recently been divided into six, with 34 cranes, to provide accommodation for the larger vessels which now visit the Port, a larger traffic is passed over them and improvements are now in contemplation which will further increase their traffic capacity.

For the improvement of the Port, and for the advancement of trade, various other works (enumerated hereafter) were taken in hand, and for a period of over 30 years the Commissioners have been continuously adding to the facilities.

I. The Jetties.—The six berths for sea-going vessels, to accommodate the longer and larger vessels now employed in the trade of the Port, have a frontage extending about 2,982 feet, having ware-houses and sheds for the accommodation of the import trade.

At first the jetties were separated from each other and they projected from the river bank; they were made as so many T-headed structures; but subsequently the intervening space between them was closed, and the jetties were connected with one another to form a continuous line of quays on the riverside, broken at one point for a length of 231 feet to avoid the space occupied by the remains of a large vessel, called *Govindpore*, which sank in the great cyclone of 1864. Here a small jetty has been constructed for transhipments. Cargo is taken out from ships' holds by means of the hydraulic cranes and then placed over the quays, to be borne to the sheds by trollies or trucks or by hand. Three days' time is given for the importers to remove and clear away their goods from the sheds; at the expiration of this time the importers are liable to pay a ware-house rent until the goods are cleared.

For years, the Foreign import trade has been concentrated at the quays or jetties, and only a small proportion of the exports of the port was shipped at them. Since 1897, however, no exports have been received for shipment at the jetties, as it was then arranged that vessels after discharging their import cargo at the jetties should proceed to the Docks (or to the moorings in the stream) to load. Almost all the coasting steamers are loaded and unloaded at the present day, at moorings in the river, but the Commissioners have now under consideration proposals to provide them with jetties and other accommodation similar to that provided for the foreign trade.

II. The Petroleum Wharf.—At Budge Budge, which is 14 miles down the river, a depôt was established in 1886 for the landing and storage of all petroleum arriving at the Port. Hitherto petroleum had been stored at Garden Reach at considerable risk to the shipping of the Port in case of fire. When the Budge Budge depôt was first opened, no duties beyond the provision of storage were undertaken by the Commissioners; all moving, handling and stevedoring being done by the importers; but since 1894, owing to the increased volume of trade in oil, all these duties have been undertaken by the Commissioners who also assume responsibility for the safe custody and bonding of the oil. Great improvements have also been made to meet the requirements of the trade. The capital cost which has been incurred on this depôt amounts, in round numbers, to something over 11½ lakhs of rupees. In the last five years, while the total import of petroleum has increased by 7 per cent. only, the quantity imported in bulk has grown by 145 per cent.

III. The Tea-Warehouse.—This has been located within the Jetty compound and its accounts are included with the Jetties. The building was constructed at a cost of Rs. 8,51,009 and was finished in the year 1887. It affords accommodation for the storage, sampling, and sale of tea before it is shipped through the Docks.

IV. The Inland Vessels Wharves.—The Port Commissioners own a considerable area but not all the frontage on both the banks of the stream. On the Calcutta side the frontage extends from Tolly's Nullah to Cossipore, within the Cossipore-Chitpur Municipality, leaving a space owned by the Eastern Bengal State Railway, where the Railway wharf stands. On the right, or Howrah bank, the Commissioners control the river banks from Shalimar on the south, to Messrs. Burn and Company's wharf on the north. Out of this length the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Company have recently acquired a length of about 2,000 feet of the river frontage near Shalimar House. Then comes the Telkul Ghât, and at the Howrah Bridge, the Chandmarree Ghât. Above the bridge is the Commissioners' Dockyard with a river frontage and a number of separate landing places and ghâts all vested in the Commissioners. The Port Commissioners have made a great many improvements, until at present the capital cost of the works (excluding expenditure incurred for the Port Trust Railway), amounts to approximately Rs. 72,00,000. One of the most important improvements is the construction of a new coal yard at Shalimar which provides accommodation in its way of storage space sidings and positions for bunker coal, the shipment of which amount to about 1½ million tons.

V. The Strand Bank Lands.—In 1870 the frontage from Ohandpal Ghât to Ahiritollah, on the Calcutta side, was leased in perpetuity by Government to the Port Trust as a source of revenue. The present quit-rent by which the lands are held, amounts to Rs. 37,292 annually. These lands are all occupied for business purposes, and year by year, are improving in value.

VI. The Harbour Master's Department.—Every vessel, when she reaches Garden Reach, is taken charge of from the Pilot by an Assistant Harbour Master who places her in moorings at the jetties or in the stream. The duties of the Assistant Harbour Master's Department are confined to the Port above Garden Reach and consist in controlling the movements of vessels, in supplying tugs, in the dredging of the river, and in fixing and maintaining all moorings in the stream, and also in dealing with fires or other accidents to the shipping.

Mooring hire is fixed by a scale sanctioned by Government. It begins at a daily rate of Rs. 1-8 for all vessels up to 199 tons and rises at the rate of 8 annas for each additional 100 tons to Rs. 3-8 for vessels of 599 tons. For vessels of from 600 to 999 tons it is Rs. 4, and thence rises at the rate of Re. 1

for each 250 tons extra, to Rs. 12 for vessels of 2,999 tons. For all vessels of 3,000 tons and upwards, it is Rs. 15.

The Commissioners were empowered to license cargo and passenger boats by section 6 (I) (K) of the Indian Ports Act, X of 1889, and the rate was fixed originally at annas 8 a ton, but this was subsequently reduced in 1883-84 to annas 3 a ton; this rate remains up to date. The rate refers to cargo boats in general.

A Police force, consisting of the River Police and the Dock Police, supplemented by Police Guards for the Jetties, Petroleum wharf and Inland Vessels wharves, &c., is maintained at the expense of the Port Commissioners. Three-fourths of the cost of the River Police, viz., Rs. 46,764, is paid by the Commissioners and one-fourth, viz., Rs. 11,691 by Government.

The Police establishments at the Docks and elsewhere are wholly payable by the Commissioners. Under an arrangement made with Government, the departmental administration of this body rests with the Commissioner of Police. But for all duties connected with the Port and Jetties, and for the prosecution of all offences under the various Port Acts, they are entirely under the control of the Port Commissioners, who, in their turn, are responsible to Government for the proper discharge of these duties.

VII. The Port Trust Railway.—The necessity for railway connection was perceived immediately after the constitution of the Trust, and steps were taken to supply this want by the construction, in 1876, of a line of railway connecting the Inland Vessels wharves and the Jetties with the Eastern Bengal State Railway at Chitpore, and also serving the local traffic between the Jute presses and the Jetties. The Howrah-Shalimar Branch was constructed in 1883 owing to the large increase in exports *via* the East India Railway, enabling goods to be delivered from railway wagons into boats at any point on the wharf which the Commissioners had constructed along the Howrah Foreshore, between Ramkrishnapore and Shalimar, a distance of about 2 miles. This line also serves the local traffic of the mills on the Howrah side. For the coal export trade a large coal yard has been constructed at Shalimar. In 1885 the main line was extended from the Jetties to the Kidderpore Docks then under construction. The Port-Trust Railway's main line now runs between Chitpore and the Kidderpore Docks, and its total mileage, including 2.31 miles of the Howrah-Shalimar Branch is 8.526 miles. The length of sidings open is 69 miles with 450 points. This includes the Dock Junction which runs from the Budge-Budge Branch of the Eastern Bengal State Railway to the Docks. The Railway uses its own rolling-stock for the Docks and local traffic.

VIII. Port Approaches Department.—In 1881-82 the duties of the Port Approaches were transferred from the hands of the Provincial Government to the Port Trust. This Department deals with the surveying, buoying and lighting of the Hooghly. It prepares and publishes charts of the river, issues daily notices to Pilots, and generally provides assistance and information to facilitate the navigation of the river.

A Port due of 4 annas per ton for all ships entering the Port was levied by Government, in order to meet the expenses of the Department. But the Commissioners, thinking the expenses could be met from the finances of the General Department, reduced the original due of 4 annas per ton to annas 3 in the first year, and then to anna one in the next. They finally abolished the charge in 1884. But in 1892-93 it was found that the Commissioners could hardly meet the expenses of this department from the surplus revenue and so the due was reimposed. From December 1892 up to the present time, these dues have been levied at the maximum rate of 4 annas per ton.

(i) *Surveys and Charts.*—When the Port Commissioners took over the surveys from the hands of Government, they found that only certain sections of the river had been surveyed; charts of these parts were published later on. Also sketches of the channels, bars, &c., of the river were given to pilots which were to be used in navigating a ship, and at present there are issued on an average, over two such for every working day of the year. Again a system of Hydrographic notices to be issued to Mariners was introduced.

The Commissioners prepare each year scientific survey maps of the river from the sea to Calcutta.

(ii) *Lighting of the Hooghly.*—The first light vessel placed in the Eastern Channel as the Eastern Channel Floating Light, was the *Beacon* in 1816. The first Gaspar light vessel was placed at the Lower Gaspar light station during the year 1827-28.

The Upper Gaspar light vessel was first placed in position in May 1858. The object of placing the Upper Gaspar Light was to give a better leading mark through the Gaspar channel and lower part of Saugor Roads at night time.

Previous to the erection of the present iron Lighthouse on Saugor Island, a bright light was exhibited from a large wooden tripod at Middle Point. The light vessel, *Torch*, was stationed in Saugor Roads as a light station until the completion of the lighthouse in 1852. False Point Lighthouse was first equipped in 1838. This light was erected to afford a guide to vessels arriving from Europe, when making for the land, to show them their position and enable them to take a correct departure for the Sandheads and entrance to the Hooghly.

The Commissioners took over altogether eight vessels in 1880-81 from the Provincial Government including six light-vessels, and also what they called a spare light-vessel.

The Conservators took over three light-houses, viz., False Point, Saugor and Kaukhali, where the block was passed over in 1881.

There are also anchoring lights inside the river, viz., two at Kulpi, two at Diamond Harbour, and one at Fisherman's Point anchorage.

At present the Commissioners have eight light-vessels (an increase of two) with an increase of five shore lights. Four of the light-vessel stations viz., Eastern Channel, Mutlah, Pilot's Ridge, and Lower Gaspar have been fitted with flashing lights of from 15,000 to 20,000 candle power (against the weak 300 power light exhibited before).

(iii) *Buoys.*—For day navigation, buoys are placed in different parts of the river to define the channels and shoals.

"The number of buoys in 1881, outside the Port, were 104 of all sizes; there are now 114. In 1881 there were 57 River Marks, there are to-day 119—more than double the number."

(iv) *Tidal Works.*—In 1881 there were four tidal semaphores viz., at Moynapore, Hooghly Point, Balari, and Khijiri. Another semaphore station has been fixed at Phooldubi and also a tide gauge, close to Uluberia, on the right bank of the river.

IX. Kidderpore Docks.—These works were taken in hand in 1884-85, and cost 287 lakhs. The first vessel entered them in June 1892.

The Docks consist of a Basin entered from the River Hooghly by a lock pointing up stream, making an angle of about 20° with the flood-tide, and also by a direct entrance nearly square to the stream, useable only at slack water. Beyond the Basin are the wet docks with a double passage leading to them.

			Feet.
Length of Lock between gates	...	...	400
" " using Caissons	...	...	510
Width of lock	...	...	60
Width of direct entrance	...	...	80
Will admit any length of vessel at slack water.			
Depth of water over sills at high water	...	...	34
" " " low water	...	...	23
Mean rise of tide	...	...	11
Length of Basin	...	...	600
Width of Basin	...	...	680
			acres.
Area of Basin	...	...	9½
			Feet.
Quayage of Basin (2 vessels)	...	...	1,050
Width of passages to wet dock	...	...	60 & 80
Length of wet dock No. (1)	...	...	2,600
Width of wet dock	...	...	600
Depth of water in wet dock	...	...	27
			acres.
Area of wet dock	...	...	33

			Feet.
Quayage of wet dock accommodating 12 vessels	...	...	5,400
			Sq. Feet.
General Cargo Sheds	...	...	432,000
Salt Godowns	...	...	144,000
Receiving Sheds for grain and seeds	...	...	511,280
5-Ton Hydraulic Cranes	...	...	6
35-cwt. " "	...	...	50
100-Ton Sheer legs	...	...	1
30-Ton floating cranes	...	...	1
Coaling berths, hand labour	...	...	6
" " mechanical	...	...	1

GRAVING DOCKS.

			Feet.
No. 1.			
Length on blocks	...	...	520
Width of entrance	...	...	67
Least depth on blocks	...	...	21'-6"
No. 2 in course of construction.			
Length on blocks	...	...	450
Width of entrance	...	...	67
Least depth on blocks	...	...	23'-6"

The Docks are in direct Railway (5'-6" gauge) communication with the Import Jetties, the East Indian Railway, and the Eastern Bengal State Railway, and by wagon Ferry across the Hooghly River with the Bengal-Nagpur Railway.

There is an Electric Tram service from No. 3 gate direct to the business centres of Calcutta.

The wharfs and sheds are lit by electricity.

The capital cost of the dock works stood at the close of 1899-1900 at Rs. 3,34,44,870 and an expenditure of Rs. 29,42,624 has been estimated to be incurred for further improvements.

For general produce there are 13 berths in Dock No. 1, one of which, in the tidal basin, is temporarily made available for coal. But on a demand springing up some few years for Bengal coal, four Jetties, capable of accommodating the largest vessels employed in the coal export were immediately run up and shipments amounting to about 1½ radeaus of load are made from them, and upon the coal being all loaded by basket coolies. But anticipating a development of traffic the construction of two permanent berths was also taken in hand and were completed in 1901, one being fitted with mechanical loading plant after trial of which the Commissioners will decide as to the class of plant with which other births should be provided. For the facilities of the salt trade three berths have also been constructed. For produce and salt ample shed accommodation has been provided including a very extensive depôt for grain and for both coal and produce there is a large station yard with all the necessary conveniences.

Of all the articles of export, it is found that coal has made wonderful progress during the past few years, as the following figures will show:—

COAL EXPORTED TO.	1895-96.	1896-97.	1897-98.	1898-99.	1899-1900.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
Foreign ports	79,886	132,448	203,145	325,571	303,982
Indian "	351,025	544,582	928,903	969,148	875,703
Bunker coal	384,332	426,690	491,117	504,695	502,234
Total	8,15,533	1,103,720	1,622,664	1,799,414	1,681,919

Among foreign ports, it is to be found that the chief markets for the Bengal coal at present, are Ceylon and the Straits.

X. *Workshops.*—For repairs and maintenance the Port Commissioners have erected work-shops on the Howrah side of the river, a short distance above the

floating bridge. A Superintendent is at the head of the department, and he is in charge of the whole of the machinery of the Trust including the railway stock, as well as of the workshops. These workshops are maintained principally for the repairs of light-ships, dredgers and other vessels, and the general up-keep of machinery, locomotives, cranes, buoys, &c. The total expenditure on this head, that is incurred annually, exceeds five lakhs of rupees.

Hospital Port Dues.—Under sections 49 and 50 of the Indian Port Act, X of 1889, the Provincial Government levies at present a tax of nine pies per ton on all vessels entering the Port, their maximum rate being fixed at one anna per ton.

The proceeds from the tax are applied to the support of hospitals and dispensaries which receive sick and disabled sailors and mariners for medical treatment and relief.

The Commissioners have no control over the Port Hospital dues; they lie entirely in the hands of the Provincial Government.

Special Toll.—The special toll is a direct taxation of 4 annas a ton levied on the trade of the Port in order to enable the Port Trust to meet its liabilities every year when its revenue from ordinary sources is estimated to be insufficient to do so. At present this tax is levied under the name of "River due."

"For the main staples of export traffic the current shipping rates are, for coal, rice, wheat and seeds, 8 annas a ton, for jute 11·2 annas; for gunnies 6 annas; and for general cargo the average rate is one rupee per ton."

At the census of 1881, the number of boats actually found in the Port jurisdiction was 3,825 against 2,860 boats in 1876. The number of boats found in the Port on the 1st of March 1901 was 3,388, the number of ships 79, and the number each, of steamers and flats, 31 against 2,140 boats, 149 ships, and 20 steamers, found at the census of 1866.

The value of the trade of the Port, for 1871-72, 1875-76, and 1880-81, was Rs. 48,50,93,083, Rs. 47,70,00,395 and Rs. 62,11,20,557, respectively. It will be seen that there was no expansion of the trade of Calcutta between 1872 and 1876, but after the latter year, it increased in volume, owing, undoubtedly, to the increased activity in business caused by the introduction of steam as a motive power, by the construction of Jetties, furnished with mechanical appliances, and of railways along both banks of the river, for facility of the conveyance of articles of commerce. During 1874-75, the imports and exports of Calcutta amounted, exclusive of treasure, to Rs. 48,25,85,890 and inclusive of treasure, to Rs. 54,32,85,551.

"Imports represented 37 per cent. of the aggregate value of the foreign trade of Calcutta in merchandise; while exports represented 63 per cent. of the aggregate value."

The steady progress both in the import and export foreign trade in Calcutta during the past thirty years is evidence by the following figures an average annual value during each quinquennial period, being given:—

			<i>Lakhs of Rupees.</i>	
			Import.	Export.
1870-71 to 1874-75	...	...	16,48	23,59
1875-76 to 1879-80	...	...	17,80	27,78
1880-81 to 1884-85	...	...	21,50	33,08
1885-86 to 1889-90	...	...	23,44	35,23
1890-91 to 1894-95	...	...	25,95	39,97
1895-96 to 1899-1900	...	...	28,46	45,59
The year 1900-1901	...	...	31,79	54,00

Appendix II exhibits the chief articles of import and export of the foreign trade of Calcutta during the last thirty years.

The aggregate value of the foreign sea-borne trade ^(a) of Calcutta during the years 1891-92, 1892-93, 1893-94, 1894-95 and 1895-96, exclusive of Government transactions, for articles of import only, amounted to Rs. 28,65,72,342, Rs. 25,43,01,406, Rs. 30,78,45,342, Rs. 27,44,43,275 and Rs. 28,18,46,990 respectively. Of the above sums, merchandise of imports for 1891-92, amounting to Rs. 23,07,42,385 was duty-free and merchandise for Rs. 2,22,30,108 was dutiable; the remainder, the value of treasure imported,

^(a) The facts and figures given in the three preceding and all succeeding paragraphs, have been taken from the Reports on the Maritime Trade of Bengal.

amounted to Rs. 3,35,99,849. The following table will show how the merchandise of imports for the other four years were treated at the Port:—

Merchandise	1892-93.	1893-94.	1894-95.	1895-96.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Free	20,72,99,833	25,82,64,846	18,62,56,015	2,65,18,903
Dutiable	2,12,91,857	3,33,16,679	12,83,29,185	21,27,37,414
Treasure	2,26,10,216	1,83,63,817	1,08,29,076	1,35,90,678
Total imports ...	25,43,01,406	30,78,45,342	27,44,43,276	33,18,46,995

The total value of the foreign trade for articles of export amounted to Rs. 38,91,36,558 in 1891-92, Rs. 41,04,16,430 in 1892-93, Rs. 41,27,17,019 in 1893-94, Rs. 45,80,59,114 for 1894-95, and Rs. 45,69,38,422 for the year 1895-96; each of the above sums being made up of the following items:—

Exports merchandise.	1891-92.	1892-93.	1893-94.	1894-95.	1895-96.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Indian { Free ...	35,16,84,349	38,94,85,956	37,71,88,336	41,10,48,834	41,98,07,086
{ Dutiable ...	3,37,52,028	3,35,64,066	3,09,79,121	3,68,36,072	3,86,79,276
Foreign merchandise ...	19,22,143	26,68,981	16,42,474	16,94,552	16,28,561
Treasure	27,78,088	57,06,428	22,27,088	84,80,649	20,28,139

During the last five years the trade of Calcutta was distributed among the following foreign countries of the world:—

Imports for Europe were valued at Rs. 2,861 lakhs in 1896-97, and Rs. 2,641 lakhs, Rs. 2,634 lakhs, Rs. 2,923 lakhs, and Rs. 2,972 lakhs for the years 1897-98, 1898-99, 1899-1900 and 1900-1901 respectively. Of the above amounts, the United Kingdom contributed Rs. 2,536 lakhs for the year 1896-97, Rs. 2,325 lakhs for the year 1897-98, Rs. 2,300 lakhs for 1898-99, Rs. 2,537 lakhs for 1899-1900 and Rs. 2,527 lakhs for 1900-1901, the remainder having been brought up by other countries in the Continent of Europe. America paid for articles of import from Calcutta Rs. 74 lakhs for 1896-97, Rs. 68 lakhs for the year 1897-98, Rs. 78 lakhs for the next year 1898-99, then Rs. 63 lakhs for 1899-1900 and for the year 1900-1901 only Rs. 57 lakhs showing a gradual decrease in the figures. The United States contributed all the above sums, a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs only having been paid on import articles by other American countries in the year 1899-1900. Africa received articles of import from Calcutta to the amount of Rs. 37 lakhs, 45 lakhs, 40 lakhs, 107 lakhs, 51 lakhs for the years 1896-97, 1897-98, 1898-99, 1899-1900, and 1900-1901 respectively. The abrupt increase of Rs. 107 lakhs for the year 1899-1900 showed the large demand of articles from India in connection with the Boer War. But of the above sums, Natal paid the maximum; the remaining countries of Africa, especially Mauritius and Egypt brought up the minimum remainder. Of Asiatic countries, Eastern Asia contributed Rs. 131 lakhs for the year 1896-97, Rs. 207 lakhs, Rs. 191 lakhs, Rs. 187 lakhs and Rs. 291 lakhs for the next four years, respectively. The value of articles received by Ceylon from Calcutta was Rs. 34 lakhs, Rs. 67 lakhs, again Rs. 67 lakhs, Rs. 83 lakhs, and Rs. 138 lakhs for the years 1896-97 and the subsequent years down to the year 1900-1901. The remainder of the value of the articles of export, Rs. 12 lakhs, Rs. 19 lakhs, Rs. 12 lakhs, Rs. 14 lakhs and Rs. 19 lakhs was borne by other western countries of Asia. Lastly Australasia bore on her part Rs. 42 lakhs, Rs. 64 lakhs, Rs. 115 lakhs, Rs. 150 lakhs, Rs. 226 lakhs for the years 1896-97, 1897-98, 1898-99, 1899-1900 and 1900-1901 respectively. The grand total is a little over 31 crores for the years 1896-97, 1897-98 and 1898-99; it rose to 35 crores and 37 crores in the years 1899-1900, 1900-1901, respectively.

Exports from European countries amounted to, on an average, over Rs. 28 crores for the years 1896-97, 1897-98, 1898-99, 1899-1900 and 1900-1901. The United Kingdom has sent articles of export each year, for

the last five years, of over 18 crores of rupees, and the rest of the countries of Europe the remaining 10 crores of rupees. America has exported articles at an average value of over Rs. 5 crores each year for the last five commercial years. The countries of Africa have received for their exported articles to Calcutta, for the last five years, over Rs. 2 crores every year. Natal, Mauritius, and the Cape have supplied more than half of the articles of export. Eastern Asia has sent articles of export for the following amounts,

				Rs.	
For the year	1896-97	...	...	677	lakhs.
"	1897-98	...	...	614	"
"	1898-99	...	...	643	"
"	1899-1900	...	...	750	"
"	1900-1901	...	...	857	"

and for the same five years, Ceylon has supplied articles at a value of Rs. 112 lakhs, Rs. 205 lakhs, Rs. 242 lakhs, Rs. 228 lakhs and Rs. 287 lakhs, respectively. The remainder of the amount is brought up by other countries in Asia, the whole amount for Asia for its articles of export to Calcutta, being Rs. 865 lakhs for the year 1896-97, Rs. 901 lakhs for 1897-98, Rs. 993 lakhs for 1898-99, Rs. 1,052 lakhs for the year 1899-1900, and Rs. 1,230 lakhs for the year 1900-1901. Australasia has received for the above five years Rs. 109 lakhs, Rs. 121 lakhs, Rs. 123 lakhs, Rs. 153 lakhs, Rs. 186 lakhs, respectively, for articles of export.

The final value of exports for the years 1896-97, 1897-98, 1898-99, 1899-1900, 1900-1901 comes up to Rs. 4,496 lakhs, Rs. 4,532 lakhs, Rs. 4,574 lakhs, Rs. 4,998 lakhs Rs. 5,485 lakhs, respectively.

Interesting statistics regarding the foreign and coasting trade of the port and its dependencies for the last decade are appended.

A comparison of these figures with the trade statistics of the town at the dawn of the eighteenth century, ^(a) will give a far better idea than words can convey, of the stupendous strides with which the Port of Calcutta has reached, in less than 200 years its present position as an Emporium of Trade of the first magnitude under the beneficent and all-powerful, and world-pervading protection of the union-jack, in spite of ceaseless freaks of a treacherous river.

(a) See pages 114--115 *Supra*.

APPENDIX I.

EXPORTS FROM BENGAL. (a)

Rice, Oyl, Butter, Cassumber, Cummin seeds, white.

1. Bamboo, for 8 ms. is accounted dear, when ships come from Surat may yield 8 ms. (musse) this place may spend 40 Bahar.

Quentry, Metty, Saffron, dry, worth 3 bamboos per mace.

Herba Does 10 Bahar

Dry Ginger worth 1 Bamboo per mace.

Callonghes worth 8 bamboo per mace.

Adjavan, 8 bamboos per mace.

Mustard 4 Bamboos per ms.

Cotton 1 ms. per Bamboo.

Lack worth 3 Tale per Bahar when plenty.

Iron 3½ Tale per Bahar.

Cossacs 1 yd. and 4 fingers broad fine and ordinary 50 corgs may vend.

Elatchos 40 or 50 Corgs

Taffates, red, most esteemed, 20 cords long and broad as Cossacs 150 corgs or 200 corgs.

Chucklacs about 50 Corgs.

Doreas about 15 Corgs

Hummans of all sorts if (you) sell 30 corgs, (it) is much.

Sannas, fine, etc., about 30 Corgs.

Ophium, when no ships go from Bengal to Malacca, sells well.

Gingortee (yinjale) Oyl more esteemed than Mustard seed.

Soosias from 15 to 20 Tale per corgs.

Romalls 60 or 70 corgs, ordinary sort best.

Raw silk, white, 125 Tale per Bahar, about 2 Bahars may sell.

Goods from Bengal proper for the Coast of Coromandel.

Anno 1614	Ra.	s.	
Ophium cost	80	0	per maund.
Casoh	2	8	"
Bees wax	19	0	"
Elgaram	12	0	"
Cummin seeds	2	8	"
Black Cummin seeds	1	0	"
Dry ginger	2	0	"
Turnerick	1	0	"
Wheat	0	8	"
Taffates 20 Cords long and 2 do broad	6	0	piece.
Do. ordinary 18 Cords long and 1½ broad	4	8	"
Gold flower'd Jammowars	12	0	"
Silver flower'd Jammowars	19	0	"
Silver Rasters 8 Cords long, 3 do broad	4	8	"
Gold Rasters 8 Cords long, 3 do broad	5	8	"
Silver Rasters 2½ Cords broad and 8 long	3	8	"
Gold Rasters	4	0	"
Atlases Striped ½ Cords broad, 14 do long	2	8	"
Birds eye Atlas 9 Cords long, 1½ broad	1	4	"
Butter	7	0	per maund.
Pittumbers, 10 Cords long and 2½ broad	12	0	per corgs.
Chunder bannies, 14 Cords long, 1½ broad	36	0	"
Deys, 14 Cords long and 2 do broad	35	0	"
Pegu Clouts, spotted	80	0	"
Silk Lungoes	20	0	"
Boys' Sashes, 5 Cords long ½ cords broad	12	0	"
Do. 4 do. 1 do.	5	0	"
Deys, 10 Cords long, 1½ broad	25	0	"
Radder bannies, Clouts 14 Cords long 2 do broad	40	0	"
Lungo (c) Elatchos.			
Floretta yarn or Musta (mogra) first sort	5	8	per seer.
Second sort ditto	4	12	"
Punga Silk, head and belly	2	14	"
Mugga Silk (will not do)	1	8	"
Oyle of Mustard seed	3	0	per maund.
Pittumbers 15 Cords long and 2 do broad	40	0	per corgs.
Chunder bannies, 1½ Cords broad and 10 Cords long	20	0	"

Goods proper to send from the Bay of Bengal to the Coast of Coromandel Anno 1654. (b)

Raw Silk is a staple commodity all along the coast, 300 bales of 3 maunds each may vend yearly.

Sugar Tisindy 3,000 bales of 2 maunds 5 seers will vend yearly.

Long pepper 7,000 maunds per ann.

Turnerick 1,500 maunds per ann.

Saltpetre 3,000 to 3,500 maunds per ann.

Catch a commodity which seldom fails 4,000 maunds per ann.

Hammer or pitch 400 maunds per ann.

Ophium 80 to 60 maunds.

Several sorts of piece goods from Cassimabazar &c.,

Petambers.

Daryees.

Chamberbarnes.

Taffates of several sorts.

Flowerd Lungoes.

Taramandies.

Several sorts of silk.

Girdles.

Soosias, a few.

Flatches, a few.

(a) Wilson's Early Annals, Vol. I, pages 227 and 228.

(b) Wilson's Early Annals, Vol. I, page 228.

IMPORTS TO BENGAL. 19

Goods proper for the Bay from the Coast. Anno 1864 viz.,

- Copper, Tutuaguo¹ Tyer is pigs and Gants².
 Chank (*chank*) a vast quantity will sell.
 Melinut.
 Pepper.
 Some sorts of china.
 Girdles and Sashes of Maslepatam.
 1. Port tirtetaga, used to mean Chinese "white copper" also to mean zinc or pewter.
 2. Ganea, for Malay ganea, for Sansh, kama, bell-metal. The metal which constituted the inferior currency in Pegu, which some call lead and others a mixed metal.

N.B.—Words used in this Appendix are spelt as in the original. The unintelligible native Indian words mostly relate to different species of cotton cloth and their embellishments.

APPENDIX II.

Articles of import. 1870-1900.	Articles of export. 1870-1900.
1. Animals (principally horses).	1. Countahour.
2. Apparel (principally boots and shoes).	2. Coal.
3. Arms and Ammunition.	3. Cotton and cotton manufactures (principally raw cotton, Indian twist and yarn, Indian piece goods and other cotton manufactures, etc.).
4. Corals.	4. Cutch and Gambier.
5. Cotton manufactures (cotton twist and yarn, cotton fabrics, white and coloured piece goods, etc.).	5. Food-grains and flour (principally rice, wheat and wheat flour, gram, other grain and pulses, etc.).
6. Drugs and Medicines.	6. Ginger.
7. Liquors, wines and spirits.	7. Hemp.
8. Matches.	8. Hides and skins.
9. Metals and metal manufactures, Railway materials, etc., (principally brass, unwrought and wrought copper, unwrought and wrought iron, tin, lead, zinc, steel, german silver wire, quick-silver, etc.) Machinery and mill work (excluding those for Railways) Railway Plant and Rolling Stock, Agricultural implements.	9. Horns.
10. Mineral oil.	10. Indigo.
11. Provisions (principally dates, cheese, butter, bacon, ham, etc.).	11. Jute and jute manufactures.
12. Salt.	12. Oilseeds and vegetable oils.
13. Silk fabrics.	13. Opium.
14. Spices.	14. Salt petre.
15. Sugar.	15. Silk and silk manufactures.
16. Tobacco (principally Manila cigar, imitation Havana, real Havana and other cigarettes from Holland and Japan, China, America, and Egypt).	16. Tea.
17. Umbrellas.	17. Tobacco (unmanufactured).
18. Woollen goods.	

APPENDIX III.

I. A Bank shall be established in Calcutta on the 1st January 1899, to be denominated the Bank of Bengal, and shall be incorporated for a term of seven years, under the charter to be granted for this purpose by the Governor-General in Council, by virtue of the authority vested in him by the Act of the 4th of George the III. Section 2nd Chapter 68.

II. The Bank shall be established on a capital of 50,00,000 of sicca Rupees, to be divided into 500 shares of 10,000 sicca Rupees each.

III. One hundred shares or 10,00,000 of sicca Rupees, shall be subscribed for by Government, and four hundred shares by individuals.

IV. The Bank shall be managed by nine Directors, three of whom shall be nominated by the Governor-General in Council, and six shall be appointed by the Individual Proprietors of the Bank. The Directors, previously to entering upon their charge shall be sworn before the Governor-General in Council, to a faithful discharge of the trust reposed in them.

V. The six Directors to be appointed by the Proprietors shall be elected by ballot at a general meeting of Proprietors, to be held at the Bank, on Thursday the 15th of December next.

VI. No person shall be eligible as Directors (except the three Directors nominated by Government) who shall not possess at least one share in the Bank.

VII. Armenians, Natives, and others holding shares in the bank shall be considered eligible as Directors, under the condition prescribed in the foregoing clause.

VIII. Two of the Directors appointed by the Proprietors shall be changed annually, and after the second year, shall go out by rotation, so that no Directors may be continued in the situation above three years.

IX. At the expiration of the first year, two of the six Directors shall go out by lot, and two of the remaining four at the expiration of the second year, in the same manner.

X. The subsequent changes shall take place by rotation as above specified, but the Proprietors shall be at liberty to re-elect any former Director after the expiration of one year from the time of his recession from the Direction.

XI. The Proprietors shall also be at liberty to remove any of their own Directors by a plurality of votes for misconduct at any time during the period of their appointment.

XII. Government will remove their own Directors periodically, if they shall think it necessary or proper, but as they are proposed to be official appointments, it is to be presumed that no individual is likely to continue in the Direction for so long a period as to acquire any undue influence.

XIII. In the event of the death, removal, or resignation of one of the six Directors, a meeting of the Proprietors shall be called within fifteen days for the purpose of electing a successor, who shall be appointed to act as a Director for the unexpired period which his predecessor was to have served.

XIV. The three Government Directors shall be certain public officers, viz., a Member of the Board of Revenue or Board of Trade, one of the Secretaries of the Government or the Accountant-General, or Deputy Accountant-General for the time being, or such other officers as Government may think proper to nominate.

XV. The Directors, when appointed, shall proceed to elect their own President, and to appoint a Secretary and Treasurer, and such other officers as may be found necessary, but the annual expense of the establishment shall be limited in the first instance to the sum of sicca Rupees 30,000 and this amount shall not be exceeded, except with the sanction of the Proprietors to be obtained at a general meeting.

XVI. Each share shall entitle the Proprietor to a vote as far as five shares, but beyond five, not less than two shares shall be necessary to give a vote, and no individual or company shall be allowed to hold more than ten shares, or to have more than seven votes.

XVII. Government shall not be considered as having a right to vote on any questions relating to the appointment or removal of the six Directors, nor on any questions concerning the interior management of the Bank.

XVIII. After the first six months, no person shall be allowed to vote at any general meeting of Proprietors, who shall not have possessed and duly registered the share or shares (on account of which he may claim the right to vote) for a period of three months at the least.

XIX. At the first meeting of the Proprietors the list of subscribers shall be produced by the Treasurer of the Bank to determine the right of voting; and at all subsequent meetings, a similar list shall be produced by the Directors.

XX. In case of absence, Proprietors shall be allowed to vote by proxy, the proxy producing a certificate under the signature of the Proprietor, authorising him to vote on his behalf, and all such certificates shall be preserved among the records of the Bank.

XXI. Certificates shall be granted under the signature of the Directors for the shares in the Bank, and such shares shall be considered transferable by endorsement, provided that the transfer be notified and registered in the Bank Books.

XXII. The Directors shall be competent to make such bye-laws or rules for the management of the business of the Bank, and for the conduct of their officers, as may appear to them necessary, provided that such rules be not repugnant to the principles on which the Bank is constituted.

XXIII. Three Directors at the least shall be considered necessary to form a Board, and in case of an equal division of votes of the members present, the President shall have a casting vote.

XXIV. In the event of the absence of the President from sickness or other cause, he shall be allowed to nominate any one of the Directors to preside for him during such absence, and the acting President shall be competent to exercise all the functions appertaining to the situation of President.

XXV. The President shall be appointed for one year only, but may be re-elected by a vote of the Directors.

XXVI. Three of the Directors shall officiate alternately for one week for the despatch of the current business and the general superintendence of the Bank, and the signatures of three Directors shall be considered necessary to all accounts, deeds, obligations, and other papers of the Bank requiring attestation.

XXVII. The office of Secretary and Treasurer shall be held by the same person, who previously to receiving charge of it shall be required to give security in the sum not less than 50,000 Sicca Rupees. The Native Treasurer, khazanchy, shall also give security to an equal amount.

XXVIII. The Secretary and Treasurer, the Head Account, and the Native khazanchy, shall be sworn to a faithful discharge of their trust before the Governor-General in Council, or, should the khazanchy be of that description of persons who are exempted from taking an oath by the regulations of the Governor-General in Council, he shall be required to sign a solemn declaration to the same effect.

XXIX. The Books of the Banks shall be balanced every six months, viz., on the 30th April and 31st October of each year, and the statement of the balance, attested by a majority of the Directors, shall at each period be submitted to Government.

XXX. Government shall have a right to call from time to time for any information respecting the affairs of the Bank which it may deem proper, and also to require the production of all books and papers relating thereto, or appoint any officer or officers of Government to inspect them.

XXXI. The first dividend shall be made on the 1st of July 1859, and after that date, a dividend shall be made every six months, viz., on the 1st of January and the 1st of July.

XXXII. The rate of the dividend shall be determined by the Directors upon the ground of the actual profits of the Bank during the period for which such dividend shall be made.

XXXIII. All claimed dividends shall be held in deposit, payable on demand, and the Directors shall not be at liberty to appropriate such dividends to the payment of demands on the Bank.

XXXIV. Should any Proprietor, however, who may have incurred a debt to the Bank, fall in his engagement, the Directors shall be at liberty to appropriate any dividends which any have become due to such Proprietor at any period antecedent to the failure in his engagement, or which may afterwards become due to him, until the debt be discharged.

XXXV. The notes of the Bank shall be issued in sums not less than ten rupees, nor exceeding 10,000 and they shall be received (under certain conditions and limitations) in all payments to be made to Government at their General Treasury and other offices at the Presidency, but at any of the Provincial treasuries, except with the express permission of the Governor-General in Council.

XXXVI. The following general rules are prescribed for the conduct of the Directors.

XXXVII. They shall not grant any loans for a period exceeding three months, and they shall not renew any loans, but regularly receive payment of the amount.

XXXVIII. They shall not charge interest, or discount bills, at a higher rate of interest than twelve per cent. per annum.

XXXIX. They shall not make any advances on loan to Government to an amount exceeding in the aggregate at any time the sum of sicca Rupees 5,00,000.

XL. They shall not grant any loans to an individual or Company to an amount exceeding at any given time the sum of sicca Rupees 1,00,000.

XI. They shall not grant any loans on the deposit of Bank Certificates, nor on the security of lands, or other real property.

XII. They shall be at liberty to purchase the public securities at any future period at their discretion, provided that the Government paper in their possession never exceed at any one time the sum of sicca Rupees 25,00,000 in addition to the amount which the Bank may be required to deposit with Government as a security for the credit given to the Bank by the receipt of its notes at the public treasuries.

XIII. The Directors shall be restricted from contracting debt by bond, bill, note, or otherwise to an amount exceeding the Capital stock of fifty lakhs, and if such debts shall be contracted, the Directors

contracting them shall be responsible for the excess in their individual capacities, but absent or dissenting Directors shall not be responsible provided that they give notice to the Proprietors at a general meeting to be summoned for the purpose.

XLIV. The Directors shall receive deposits of bullion, jewels and other articles of value which can be easily kept, such deposits to be restored on demand to the Proprietor.

XLV. The Directors shall also receive deposits of cash, and keep running accounts with Merchants and other individuals, but they shall not be at liberty to make any advances on such account, or to grant any loans without adequate security such as Company's paper (blank or especially endorsed) to an amount at least equal to the loan, or on bullion, plate, jewels, or generally goods not perishable or liable to great alteration in their value. No advances however shall be made on goods to an amount exceeding one half of their estimated value.

XLVI. Should any person overdraw his account with the Bank, he shall be liable to the payment of a fine of one per cent. on the amount of his draft which shall be charged in his account, and the draft shall be at the same time rejected. This rule shall not, however, be enforced if such person shall have deposited security, and received the permission of the Directors to draw upon the Bank.

XLVII. Should the Treasurer allow any person to overdraw his account, he (the Treasurer) shall be personally responsible for the excess.

XLVIII. The Bank shall be considered as absolutely precluded from trade, and any Director infringing this fundamental rule shall be liable to dismissal, and to such other penalties as it may be found practicable to enforce, but this restriction shall not be considered as precluding the Directors from receiving articles of merchandize in deposit as security for loans, as specified in clause XLV.

XLIX. The Bank shall not be allowed to act as agents or brokers for the purchase or sale of Company's paper, or goods, or property of any kind; but this prohibition shall not be considered as applying to the sale of paper or other property which may be pledged to them as security for loans.

L. The principal officers of the Bank, the Secretary and Treasurer, the Head Accountant, and the Native Khazandeh, shall also be restricted from trade, nor shall these officers be allowed to act as agents or brokers, or to engage in any separate business, whatever, but they shall strictly confine themselves to their duty as officers of the Bank.

LI. The Directors shall not be at liberty to grant any new loans, or to discount bills, when the cash in hand may not amount to one-third of the amount of notes, and other claims outstanding, payable on demand.

LII. The business of the Bank shall be confined as much as possible to discounting bills of exchange and other bills, and to granting loans for short periods (adequate security being taken in every instance) for the accommodation of merchants, and the general convenience of the public.

LIII. The Directors shall be required to submit annually to the Proprietors on the 1st Monday of June, a general account of the transactions of the Bank for the preceding year to be closed on the 30th of April, and they shall accompany it with such a report as may be necessary for their information. A copy of the account and report, attested by the Directors, is to be transmitted annually to Government, on or before the 15th of June.

LIV. A general meeting of the Proprietors shall be held for taking into consideration the account and report alluded to in the preceding clause, and any three Directors shall be at liberty at all times to summon a meeting of Proprietors for any special purpose, giving not less than fifteen days' notice in the *Calcutta Gazette*.

LV. Should the conduct of a Director, or any transaction at the Bank, or other circumstance appear to the Proprietors (or to any number of them) to render a general meeting of Proprietors necessary or expedient, they shall be at liberty (provided the number be not less than ten) to summon a general meeting by giving fifteen days notice in the *Calcutta Gazette*.

LVI. Should the conduct of any of the Government Directors appear to the Proprietors on any occasion of so objectionable a nature as to render it unsafe or improper that such Director or Directors should be continued in so important a trust, they shall be at liberty to represent the circumstances of the case to the Governor-General in Council, who will either order the removal of the Director or Directors, or take such other measures for the satisfaction of the Proprietors as may appear to him just and proper.

LVII. Should it hereafter be deemed advisable to increase the capital stock of the Bank the Proprietors shall be allowed to subscribe for the additional stock in proportion to the interest which they respectively hold in the Bank at the time, but should they not avail themselves of this option, a public subscription will be opened for the purpose of raising the funds which may be required.

LVIII. The foregoing plan differing in several respects from the plan under which the original subscription was made, the present Proprietors shall be at liberty to withdraw from the establishment, on their signifying their wish to do so on or before the 20th November next, by a letter to be addressed to the Secretary to the Bank, and Proprietors so withdrawing shall receive payment of their subscription with interest at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum, to the 1st of December next, when such payment will be made at the Bank to the party or his constituted attorney.

LIX. In order to provide for filling up the shares which may remain unoccupied by the parties so withdrawing themselves, applications in writing will be received by the Secretary to the Bank for such shares on or before the 15th November next, and the parties applying shall be admitted to subscribe eventually in the order in which their applications may be preferred.

LX. Subscriptions which may be receivable under the foregoing clause shall be paid into the Bank on the 30th of November next, in one gross sum or the sum of 10,000 sicca rupees for each share.

Published by order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council.

APPENDIX IV.

A.—The distribution of the trade of Calcutta with foreign countries during each of the last five years. (1)

COUNTRIES.	Imports.					Exports.					Total Ton- nage and Value and Percentage to India.	Percentage with the total trade of each group of countries bears to the whole.	
	1895-97.	1897-98.	1898-99.	1899-1900.	1900-1901.	1895-97.	1897-98.	1898-99.	1899-1900.	1900-1901.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	1895-1900.	1900-1901.
Europe—													
United Kingdom ...	2,356	2,388	2,500	2,527	2,527	1,987	1,798	1,746	1,815	1,882	4,412	51.9	47.78
Continental ...	225	319	324	288	642	550	947	901	1,007	1,225	1,799	49.3	19.31
Total Europe ...	2,581	2,707	2,824	2,815	3,172	2,537	2,745	2,647	2,822	3,107	6,211	100	67.09
America—													
United States ...	74	88	78	65	37	345	317	489	528	674	671	9.48	7.58
Rest of America ...	—	—	—	3	—	60	70	56	117	104	104	1.51	1.12
Total America ...	74	88	78	68	37	405	387	545	645	778	775	10.99	8.70
Africa—													
Mauritius, Cape and	25	20	39	88	42	122	131	105	134	132	197	3.13	2.12
Natal ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Egypt ...	9	11	9	7	4	23	25	24	40	36	47	0.75	0.35
Rest of Africa ...	—	—	—	2	1	10	19	19	17	14	13	0.21	0.10
Total Africa ...	34	40	48	97	47	155	175	148	194	182	267	4.10	3.07
Asia—													
Eastern Asia ...	131	207	191	182	201	277	314	342	730	407	1,154	18.58	18.88
Western Asia ...	18	19	13	14	19	70	80	109	74	56	165	2.66	1.77
Ceylon ...	94	87	67	81	136	112	220	248	229	267	452	7.28	6.95
Total Asia ...	143	213	271	277	456	659	714	899	1,033	730	1,771	28.42	27.60
Australasia ...	48	64	115	150	226	199	121	171	228	150	423	6.81	4.48
GRAND TOTAL ...	3,181	3,131	3,148	3,327	3,734	3,408	3,822	3,274	4,089	4,486	9,239	100	100

B.—The aggregate sea-borne trade of Calcutta with foreign countries and with other Indian ports for the past five years. (2)

	1895-97.	1897-98.	1898-99.	1899-1900.	1900-1901.	Increase or Decrease in 1900-1901 as compared with 1898-1899.	Percentage of Difference.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
(I) FOREIGN TRADE.							
Imports.							
Merchandise ...	21,77,85,308	22,04,71,682	22,65,21,828	22,21,24,040	22,25,20,960	+ 1,03,96,811	+ 4.6
Gold ...	77,17,122	1,00,71,912	9,33,92,034	9,79,00,929	4,32,39,220	+ 62,18,351	+ 22.17
Silver ...	1,00,28,755	1,40,35,183	1,26,27,607	1,89,89,629	2,08,20,698	+ 18,30,109	+ 9.91
Total Imports ...	22,55,31,185	24,45,78,777	33,25,41,469	33,90,14,598	36,65,81,878	+ 2,75,67,280	+ 8.13
Exports.							
Foreign Merchandise re-	19,00,017	17,00,420	20,20,613	22,00,104	22,29,087	+ 1,98,983	+ 9.02
Indian merchandise ...	66,66,12,393	66,08,37,961	68,27,21,410	67,45,00,765	68,15,22,555	+ 4,76,75,800	+ 7.07
Gold ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Silver ...	32,78,127	1,19,08,099	75,13,715	23,25,994	23,25,994	+ 12,00,944	+ 51.32
Total Exports ...	66,98,80,537	68,27,46,380	68,95,82,828	69,68,26,769	70,64,51,636	+ 9,95,24,867	+ 14.42
Aggregate Foreign Trade ...	79,54,11,722	79,73,25,157	79,04,24,297	67,58,41,368	69,47,33,513	+ 7,89,92,245	+ 11.68
(II) COASTING TRADE.							
Imports.							
Indian produce ...	8,29,49,446	8,52,32,911	8,70,25,709	8,68,27,024	8,18,12,500	+ 51,15,180	+ 5.92
Foreign merchandise ...	22,11,022	27,16,746	29,04,711	44,75,412	23,21,519	+ 6,50,096	+ 14.5
Gold ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Silver ...	22,00,291	21,12,707	22,79,291	22,41,229	2,47,27,479	+ 1,64,96,250	+ 73.91
Total Imports ...	8,51,60,759	8,80,62,364	9,00,09,711	9,15,43,465	10,88,91,518	+ 1,73,48,053	+ 19.05
Exports.							
Indian produce ...	4,49,77,609	5,00,27,718	5,45,21,749	5,20,25,419	6,71,04,321	+ 31,77,902	+ 6.12
Foreign merchandise ...	1,20,71,075	1,44,04,120	1,29,75,946	1,14,25,913	58,12,329	+ 55,13,584	+ 48.22
Gold ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Silver ...	10,71,081	24,25,294	24,64,445	1,24,22,750	1,23,22,321	+ 99,91,571	+ 80.4
Total Exports ...	5,70,48,785	6,68,57,032	6,99,62,140	6,54,74,082	7,52,39,000	+ 97,64,918	+ 14.91
Aggregate Coasting Trade ...	14,22,09,544	15,49,19,396	15,99,71,851	15,70,17,547	18,41,30,518	+ 2,71,12,971	+ 17.26
Aggregate Trade ...	21,77,85,308	24,45,78,777	33,25,41,469	33,90,14,598	36,65,81,878	+ 2,75,67,280	+ 8.13

(1) Extracts from Report on the Maritime trade of Bengal, 1894-1901.

(2) Extracts from Report on the Maritime trade of Bengal, 1899-1901.

C.—The following statement shows the value (in thousands of rupees) of the import trade and export trade of Calcutta for the past five years grouped according to the classes under which they are shown in the Government Accounts.⁽¹⁾

	IMPORTS.					EXPORTS.				
	1896-97.	1897-98.	1898-99.	1899-1900.	1900-1901.	1896-97.	1897-98.	1898-99.	1899-1900.	1900-1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	Rs. (1000's omitted)	Rs. (1000's omitted)	Rs. (1000's omitted)	Rs. (1000's omitted)	Rs. (1000's omitted)	Rs. (1000's omitted)	Rs. (1000's omitted)	Rs. (1000's omitted)	Rs. (1000's omitted)	Rs. (1000's omitted)
(I)—Animals (Horses) —	14.04	11.34	14.13	11.35	24.85	4.88	5.36	5.79	3.57	5.00
(II)—Articles of food and drink —	2,37.09	2,39.11	2,50.24	2,28.09	2,42.39	19,10.01	19,66.87	18,22.99	19,94.26	18,40.33
(III)—Machinery and manufacture of metals—										
(a) Hardware and millery	20.47	28.54	22.10	23.39	17.39	1.16	1.11	1.22	1.21	1.28
(b) Metals —	2,40.19	27,3.42	2,33.52	2,23.19	2,10.19	2.52	1.89	4.77	6.19	11.22
(c) Machinery and mill work —	1,22.40	1,37.98	99.50	90.96	1,01.78	72	1.11	196	71	100
(d) Railway plate and rolling stock —	1,17.54	1,45.82	60.23	95.71	35.07	5	—	21	5	7
Total of No. III —	2,25.30	2,72.40	2,79.21	2,37.50	2,53.43	4.34	6.15	179	332	14.99
IV.—Chemicals, dyes, medicine, narcotics, dyeing, tanning materials and —	28.32	31.76	32.07	44.86	21.75	6.12.25	6,19.29	64,944	2,10.00	2,11.81
V.—Oils —	1,29.15	1,37.12	1,32.50	1,30.01	1,25.23	20.11	26.10	2,120	24.70	26.01
VI.—Raw materials and manufactures —	39.34	41.03	19.08	21.28	30.44	17,25.10	18,84.71	1,93,407	19,32.60	22,44.28
VII.—Articles manufactured and partly manufactured —										
(a) Iron and steel articles —	16,30.34	12,24.00	13,22.26	16,07.38	16,97.94	2,97.37	6,54.28	22,114	2,59.27	2,12.27
(b) Apparel (excluding jewelry) —	40.29	46.86	34.90	41.96	44.41	9.43	7.20	7.70	8.02	4.29
(c) Other Articles —	1,20.06	144.29	1,05.79	1,04.10	1,17.99	1,55.64	1,60.22	19,742	1,20.21	1,25.07
Total of No. VII —	16,10.01	12,45.28	17,40.95	17,22.70	18,00.38	7,59.84	6,20.20	29,723	7,44.20	2,99.49
Total of Merchandise —	20,12.90	21,86.40	21,54.44	20,60.23	21,76.44	44,21.44	44,17.19	4,89,967	40,17.89	44,22.30
Treasure —	172.76	2,06.11	2,02.71	6,90.96	2,79.23	36.78	1,76.21	1,119	39.07	20.72
Gross Total —	21,30.20	21,11.00	21,80.50	22,50.96	27,34.37	44,20.22	45,22.37	4,37,397	49,79.53	64,65.12

D.—The following table shows the total imports and exports of merchandise and treasure at Calcutta, from and to foreign countries for the five years 1891-96 exclusive of Government transactions.⁽²⁾

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	1891-92.	1892-93.	1893-94.	1894-95.	1895-96.	1895-96 compared with 1891-92	
						Increase.	Decrease.
IMPORTS.							
Merchandise—	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Free —	23,07,01,995	20,79,09,332	22,62,64,940	12,19,34,912	2,32,18,298	—	19,07,00,112
Dutiable —	2,25,20,121	2,42,31,457	2,02,19,879	12,53,29,125	24,27,27,614	11,44,29,229	—
Total —	25,32,22,116	23,21,40,789	24,64,84,819	24,72,64,037	26,45,45,912	40,61,117	—
Treasure —	2,03,36,940	2,29,10,219	1,28,63,577	1,08,22,073	1,58,00,879	27,61,898	—
Total Imports —	27,35,59,056	25,50,51,008	25,93,48,396	25,80,86,110	28,03,46,791	11,62,713	—
EXPORTS.							
Merchandise—	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Free —	21,16,54,340	20,24,88,966	21,77,89,220	41,70,69,894	41,98,97,295	27,38,551	—
Dutiable —	4,27,32,024	4,50,94,955	3,00,79,121	4,05,36,978	4,26,19,274	—	22,52,796
Total —	25,43,86,364	24,75,83,921	24,78,68,341	45,76,06,872	46,25,16,569	26,05,653	—
Foreign Merchandise —	10,22,142	20,58,981	16,43,474	10,04,520	13,23,901	—	1,70,028
Total Merchandise —	25,33,64,222	24,55,24,942	24,65,11,815	44,66,11,352	45,41,10,122	25,31,807	—
Treasure —	27,79,036	27,60,429	29,27,468	44,00,220	22,59,189	—	24,23,819
Total Exports —	28,01,33,258	27,81,16,410	27,37,17,019	49,06,33,572	47,99,29,311	—	11,25,998

(1) Extract from the Report on the Maritime Trade of Bengal, 1896-1901.

(2) Extract from the Introduction to the annual accounts of the Sea-borne Trade and Navigation of the Bengal Presidency and of its Chief Port and each of its subordinate Ports, 1895-96.

E.—The aggregate sea-borne trade of Calcutta with foreign countries and with Indian ports, exclusive of Government transactions for the five years 1891-96. (a)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	1891-92.	1892-93.	1893-94.	1894-95.	1895-96.	1895-96 Compared with 1894-95.	
						Increase.	Decrease.
FOREIGN TRADE.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Imports — — — — —	25,05,76,842	25,43,61,806	26,72,43,342	27,44,82,275	25,15,40,990	73,02,714	—
Exports — — — — —	23,91,56,338	41,96,16,639	41,37,17,679	40,80,59,114	45,89,23,423	—	11,36,022
Total — — — — —	48,97,33,180	67,40,78,445	68,09,61,021	68,25,41,389	71,04,64,413	27,83,230	—
COASTING TRADE.							
Imports — — — — —	3,88,71,466	3,25,47,532	4,65,69,009	4,73,96,747	4,38,82,941	19,81,126	—
Exports — — — — —	8,71,00,167	6,76,44,904	8,01,69,473	6,87,11,915	6,09,16,422	4,88,167	—
Total — — — — —	12,59,71,633	10,01,92,436	12,67,38,482	11,61,08,662	10,48,00,363	54,80,961	—
GRAND TOTAL — — — — —	61,57,04,813	77,42,70,881	80,77,00,503	79,86,50,051	81,52,64,776	27,82,215	—

(a) Extracts from the Introduction to the Annual Accounts of the Sea-borne Trade and Navigation of the Bengal Presidency and of its Chief Port and each of its subordinate Ports, 1895-96.

DAKHINESWAR

A

CONJECTURAL

MAP OF CALCUTTA

IN ITS LEGENDARY PERIOD.

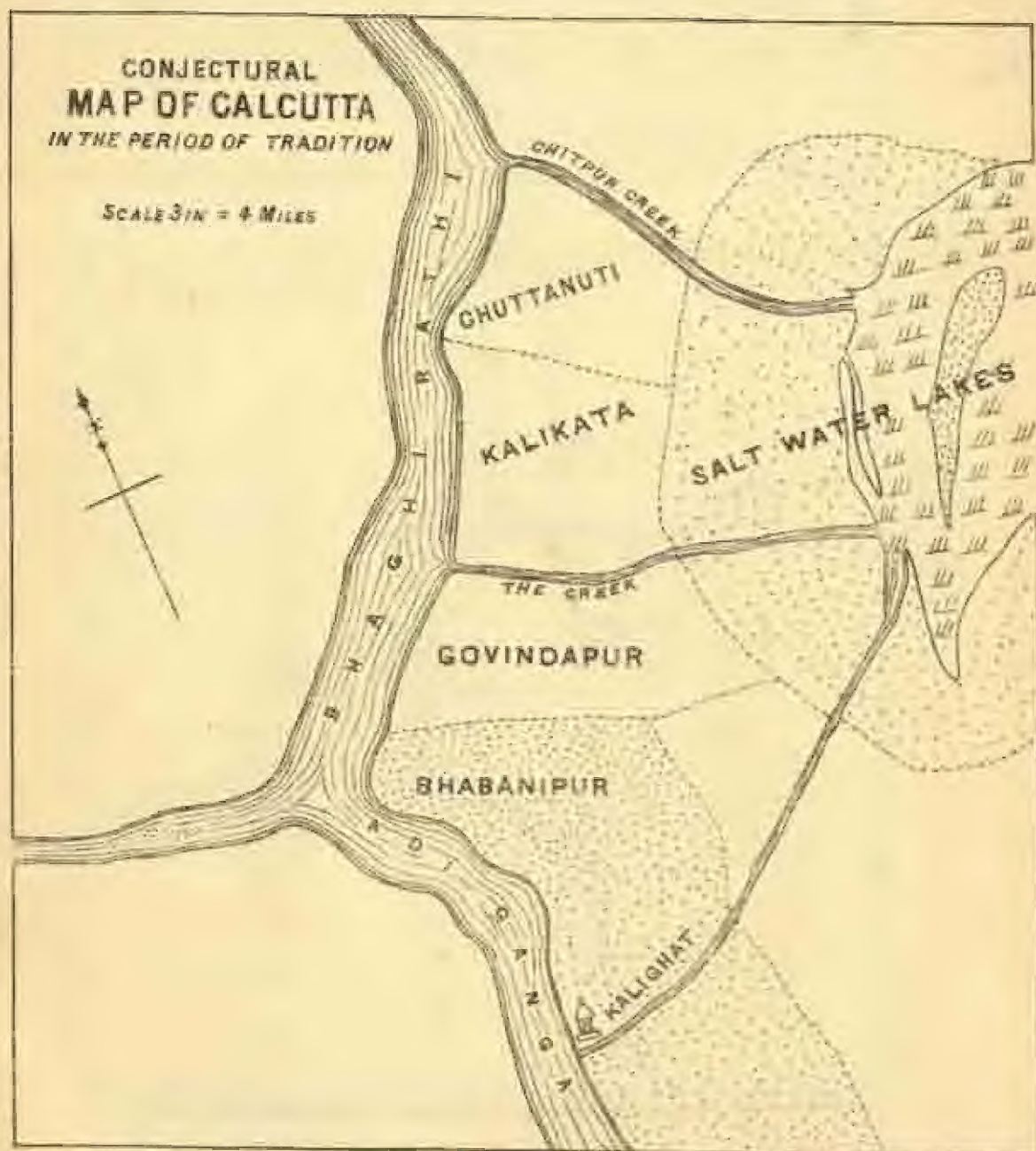
R

SCALE 3 IN = 4 MILES



CONJECTURAL
MAP OF CALCUTTA
IN THE PERIOD OF TRADITION

SCALE 3/4" = 4 MILES

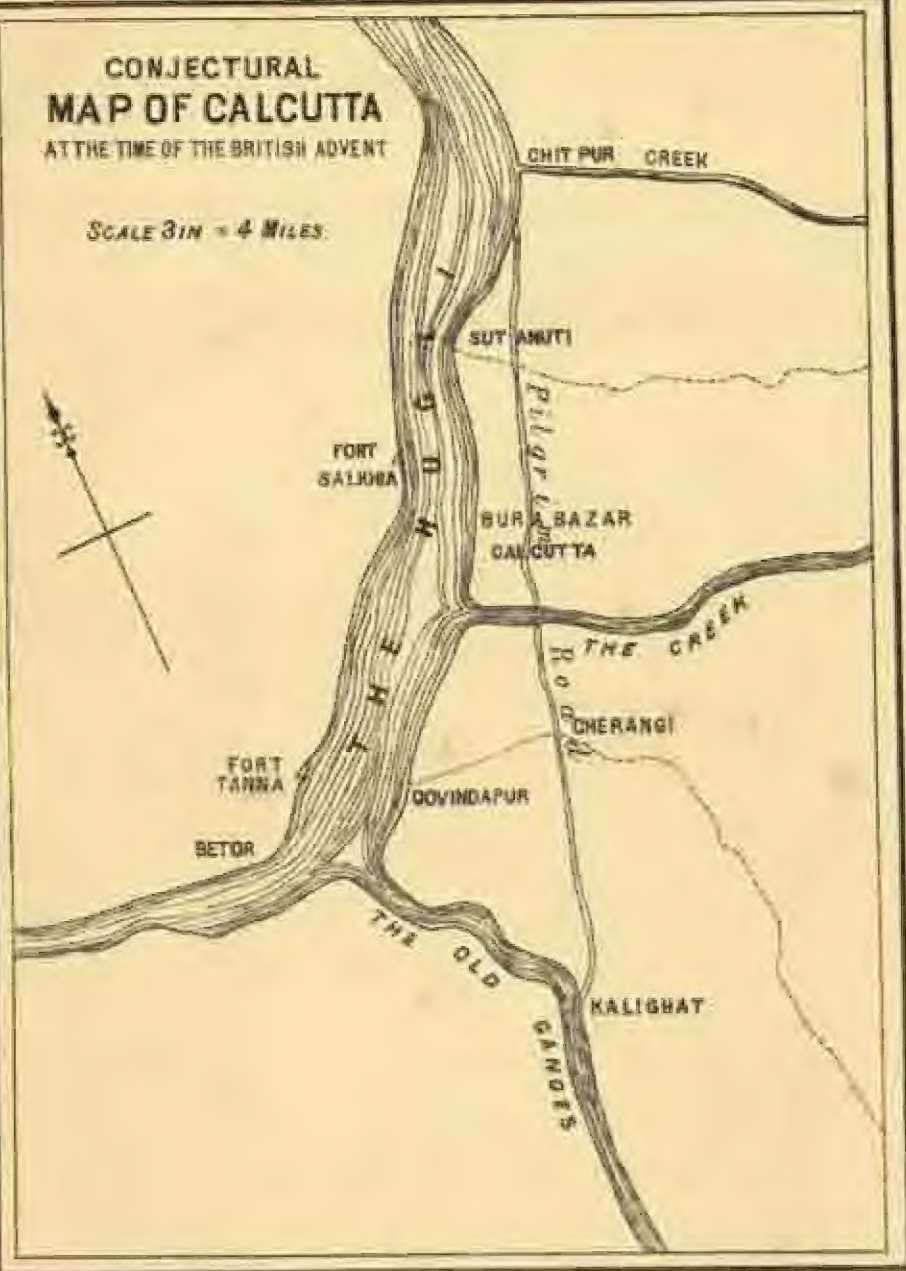




CONJECTURAL MAP OF CALCUTTA

AT THE TIME OF THE BRITISH ADVENT

SCALE 3 IN = 4 MILES.



Of the Territory of Calcutta, as
marked out in the Year 1742; exhi-
biting likewise the Military Opera-
tions at Calcutta when attacked
and taken by Seraj ud Dowlah
on the 18th of June, 1756.

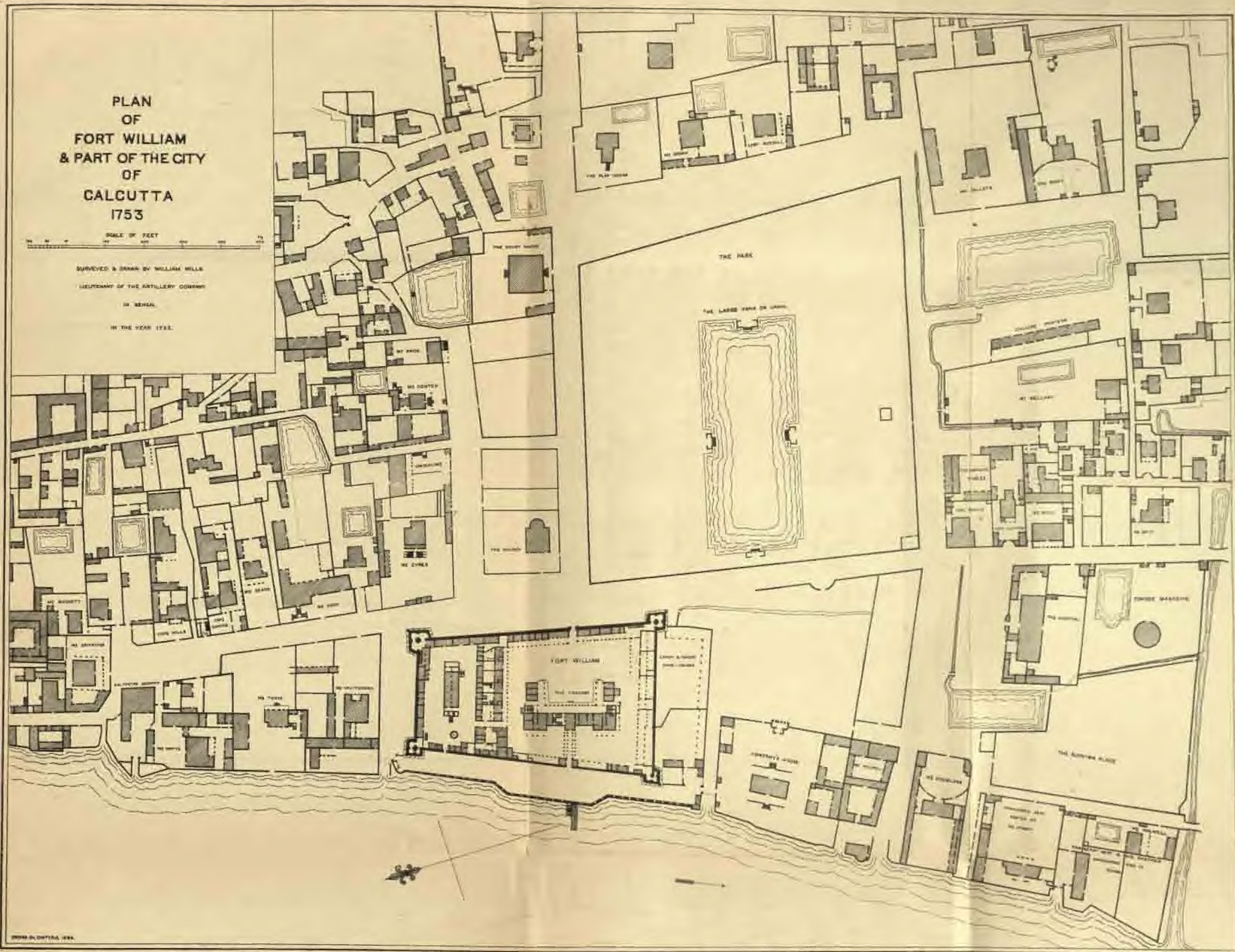


a *Perrings Point*
b *Caradannett's Garden*
c *Omichund's Garden*
d *Governapore*
e *Tower and Huts of the Nabob's Army*
f *Fort William*
g *The adjoining Warehouses*
h *The Governor's House*
i *Mr. Cruttenden's House*
k *McEyre's House*
l *The Church*
m *The Park*
n *North Battery*
o *East Battery*
p *South Battery*
• *Palljades or Avenue*
• *English House*
27 *Ditches and flights*
Works made in 1742.

A horizontal scale bar labeled "SCALE OF FEET" at the top. The scale is marked with numbers 0, 200, 400, 600, 800, and 1000. Below the numbers are vertical tick marks corresponding to each number. The bar is divided into segments by these marks.

168 张其成讲读

（附：五福臨門 吉星高照 財源廣進）



Map of
CALCUTTA and its ENVIRONS.
from an accurate Survey
Taken in the Years 1792 and 1793.
By A. UPJOHN.

To
The British Inhabitants of Bengal
THIS MAP OF
Calcutta and its Environs
IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED
By their most obedient
Servant
A. Upjohn



REFERENCES.

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Fort William | 11. St. Andrew's Church |
| 2. Fort St. George | 12. St. George's Church |
| 3. Fort St. Philip | 13. St. James's Church |
| 4. Fort St. John | 14. St. Peter's Church |
| 5. Fort St. David | 15. St. Paul's Church |
| 6. Fort St. Elizabeth | 16. St. Mary's Church |
| 7. Fort St. Anne | 17. St. John's Church |
| 8. Fort St. Catherine | 18. St. George's Church |
| 9. Fort St. George | 19. St. James's Church |
| 10. Fort St. Philip | 20. St. Peter's Church |

REFERENCES
continued

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 21. St. Andrew's Church | 31. St. George's Church |
| 22. St. George's Church | 32. St. James's Church |
| 23. St. James's Church | 33. St. Peter's Church |
| 24. St. Peter's Church | 34. St. Paul's Church |
| 25. St. Paul's Church | 35. St. Mary's Church |
| 26. St. Mary's Church | 36. St. John's Church |
| 27. St. John's Church | 37. St. George's Church |
| 28. St. George's Church | 38. St. James's Church |
| 29. St. James's Church | 39. St. Peter's Church |
| 30. St. Peter's Church | 40. St. Paul's Church |

Remarks.
The names of the streets are given in the margin of this map, and are taken from the original survey, and are not to be taken as a guide to the present state of the city, as many of the streets have since been altered, and many new ones have been opened.

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